

SLAVE TRADE

DRAWER 10D

SLAVERY ATTITUDE

71.2004 DKS. 04704



Slavery

Attitudes about Slavery

Slave Trade

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

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EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

FRIDAY EVENING, FEB 19.

WHITE SLAVERY IN ALGIERS. This was the somewhat novel theme embraced in the last lecture before the Mercantile Library Association as delivered on Wednesday evening by Charles Sumner, Esq. "White Slavery in Algiers," or, more properly speaking, in the Barbary States. The lecturer acquitted himself with his usual ability, and was equally happy in what he said, and in what he most judiciously left to be inferred, by his intelligent audience. He commenced with a brief examination of the varied contents of what he termed "the great charnel-house of history," remarking that he should draw from thence one dead institution to present to our view, in order that we might compare it with others even now existing. He then gave a geographical sketch of the situation of the Barbary States, and showed the remarkable parallelism between this tract of country and that region of North America which might well be called the *American* Barbary States. These two tracts are enclosed within the same parallels of latitude, and very nearly the same of longitude, whilst the chief seat of Christian slavery, Algiers, is on the same parallel with that which bounds the region of slavery west of the Mississippi. Both of them are bounded to about an equal extent by the sea, and they are very similar in their climate and natural productions, and in the peculiar institutions which distinguish them from the rest of the family of nations. Mr Sumner took a rapid survey of the rise and progress of white slavery in this region, which at first was an advance in civilization as it superseded the horrid custom of sacrificing prisoners to the Gods or eating them. Among the illustrious sufferers from this system was the great *Cervantes*, who, in his renowned romance, takes an opportunity to depict its horrors. The English also suffered greatly from this curse, and various treaties were made for the security of their citizens, but the Algerines were faithless, and for a long time broke treaties whenever it was for their interest to do so, until, at length, Lord Exmouth succeeded in establishing a provision which secured all Europe from this evil. Mr Sumner then related the story of the imprisonment of our American citizens by the Algerines, and the efforts on the part of our government to repress this evil. These facts are still remembered by many; the deep feeling excited in the community, and the brilliant enterprises of our navy, which resulted in a treaty of peace, securing our countrymen forever from the possibility of slavery. Decatur's exploit is familiar to all, and he says it was the happiest day of his life, when, through his means, ten Americans were rescued from slavery. And yet, said Mr Sumner, one of our own citizens has rescued without force or bloodshed, simply by a noble pecuniary sacrifice, *more* than this number from a worse bondage than that of Algiers. The lecturer next said that after the abolition of Christian slavery, negro slavery still existed in the Barbary States, although negroes, under the benign laws of the Koran, enjoyed many privileges, could rise to high stations, and were not exposed to the inhuman prejudice of color. This too has been abolished; and, within the last year, the Bey of Tunis has issued his proclamation freeing every slave in his dominions. Northern Africa was the early home of civilization and Christianity, and, though it has so long been barbarous and cruel, may we not from these auspicious signs hope that Christianity and civilization are once more about to visit their early abode.

Mr Sumner could not dwell fully on the many interesting points adverted to in his lecture, and the subject would afford matter for many interesting discourses. We doubt not, however, that his principal intention was accomplished, and that his audience saw in the polished mirror of his eloquence, the object he most wished to present to them. We hope our Southern brethren will not in future be forced to prevent the reading of Homer, Don Quixote and Calderon as incendiary publications. The natural earnestness of the lecturer's manner, was fully felt in the discourse of which we have spoken, although its necessary style of composition precluded any exhibition of oratory. His admirable scholarship too, added to the force of the truths of history by timely illustration and relevant remark, whilst occasionally a slight touch of sarcasm was used with an effectiveness which did its duty better than a page of invective. The majesty of mighty truth was all before him, and we believe that none of his audience on Wednesday evening refused to do it reverence.

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B. Tracy copy

11/2/1889

SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS. About eighty years ago a negro slave ran away from his master in the town of Chelmsford. The master mounted his horse, pursued and caught the runaway in what is now the town of Groton. Here he tied him to the tail of the horse and then rode rapidly home, compelling the negro to run or be dragged. The poor chattel was nearly dead when he arrived at his owner's house, and did not long survive the cruel deed. The descendants of this hard-hearted New Englander are living, and some of them are the warmest haters of slavery to be found in our neighboring towns. [Fitchburg Revereille.]

EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

FRIDAY EVENING, JAN. 27, 1860.

[For the Transcript.]

A WINTER EPISODE.

BY MRS. H. J. LEWIS.

Ye seem more beautiful than Summer bloom,
Ye few bright flowers that open in my room,
While your fair sisters lie in ice-locked tomb.

Without are wintry skies yet soft as May,
And gold and rosate hues upon them play,
As Summer there yet holds her queenly sway.

And ne'er did June, peeping from vine clad bow-
ers

Athwart broad fields or gardens bright with flowers
Or listening to the songs that fell like showers,

Ere gaze upon a calmer sea than this
That the light winds just ruffle with a kiss,
Then leave to slumber in its own deep bliss.

And so when gloom around life's wintry days,
Cherish some blossoms that shall cheer thy ways,
Teaching thy heart perchance forgotten praise.

And then, if thou wilt have it, there shall be
Upon each petal deftly traced for thee
God's own great name, which thou mayest daily see,

And from life's cares and sorrows turn thine eye
To beauty's miracles that round thee lie

To ocean's mysteries and the star-bright sky:

And thronging phantoms that appal thy brain
Shall lie like troops of clouds across the main,
Leaving their path unaltered by a stain.

January 25th, 1860.

PLANTATION NEGROES—THEIR AMUSEMENTS AND MANAGEMENT. One of our traveling correspondents in a recent letter gives a slight description of Southern negro life, as follows:

In making passage from Mobile to New Orleans, in the coldest weather in December, I observed on the forward deck of the steamer some hundred to a hundred and fifty negroes, of all ages up to forty or forty-five years, apparently endeavoring to make the best of their accommodations on the open deck. I learned that they were a plantation family belonging to two gentlemen then removing from Georgia to Texas. In the course of the afternoon a small space was cleared on the deck, the family fiddler brought out his instrument and bow, and we had a small enactment of a Christmas plantation drama. I would not claim the least pretension to criticism in poetic motion, but if motion ever did impart poetry to matter which was entirely unpoetic in its inert condition, then this was a decided instance in point. The drapery of the female part of this company was a most decided remove from what obtains in Paris or Broadway. Distended crinoline was abjured entirely, and the fabrics were the very cheapest consistent with warmth and durability—not even the small expense of coloring the part made from wool; the natural color of that staple, only qualified with much wear without washing, largely prevailed. But their head protection was a decided improvement on the oyster-shell patterns of Washington street belles, especially for a cold day—being of the most approved leg cabin construction.

Yet with all these disadvantages there were grace and poetry from the oldest who were thus moved by the thrilling strains of Sambo's fiddle, down to the very youngest, some of whom were not more than 10 or 12, that I have rarely observed in the dominant race. A girl of 12 or 14, who in her motionless erect attitude and straight skirts would much resemble a rail post with a turned head, would become so changed, when keeping time to the music named, as to require the pen of John S. Dwight and his recollections of the Viennese children to do her justice. One mulatto fellow, with short cape cloak, tight fitting pants of good material, a moustache of the most fashionable style, a good cloth cap worn a little to one side, and a cigar projecting from his mouth at an upward angle of forty-five degrees, I concluded by the deference generally paid him by the darkey community, was not a slave, but I was mistaken. He was one of them, and as I should judge, their

"professor of dancing" for in all my observations of reels, hornpipes and double-shuffles that were common in rustic Yankeeedom thirty years since, I never was privileged on those occasions, so important to early boyhood, as looking in upon a dancing party of young men and women at "Mr. Smith's, Mr. Brown's, and sometimes at 'Squire Allen's," to witness all those performances and the "cut of the pigeon's wing" done with a perfection equalling the present ease.

But the cold was too severe to continue these amusements very late, and it early became apparent that with all their disposition to make the best of things, their condition would be anything but desirable for the night. Unaccustomed to and unprepared for the severe cold of the North, with the thermometer in the neighborhood of 25°, their quarters were amongst the cotton bales and other freight, enclosed on three sides, but entirely open on the fourth, which was the windward side; and the strong west breeze from the water had nearly unobstructed play in and about their lodgings, and until past midnight in my stateroom immediately above I heard the wailings of their infant children. And the owners of these persons I have reason to think are among the most moderate and kind of their class. One of them showed me his memorandum book in which he kept an account with his individual chattels, to whom he apportioned land, giving them opportunity to cultivate it for their own benefit—he selling the proceeds with his crops, crediting the receipts to each chattel—ranging, as near as my memory serves, from six or eight to forty-five dollars each.

While witnessing the dancing, before alluded to, a portly, and apparently well-to-do gentleman, of whom I made some inquiries that indicated my greenness in plantation life, inquired where I was from? On learning that I was from the worst of all abolition States, he was glad of an opportunity to impart some little light to one from a region so benighted. He would be very glad to have me visit his plantation. He was glad of my opportunity of witnessing the contented and happy condition of the present slave family, though enduring the privations and discomforts of their removal. "Did they have the appearance of being raised under the lash?" "Our institutions are entirely misunderstood and falsely slandered." I subsequently overheard, with considerable interest, a conversation between the same gentleman and a fellow slaveholder, upon the details of plantation management, from which I concluded that my kind mentor was among the most humane, as well as far-seeing and shrewd, of his class. He had some 300 slaves—had some who did cooking only—was satisfied that the habit (which I inferred to be general) of giving slaves their food uncooked, and making each cook for himself, or in small messes of half a dozen or less, was bad economy, because all could not be good cooks, and poor cookery was poor economy. And not having their cooking to do after they have done work in the field, which was at dusk, nor the cotton picked during the day to store, (another general custom after quitting field work at dusk,) he had hands engaged at storing during the day—the negroes were much more cheerful and fresh to commence in the morning, and would accomplish more.

The practice of each negro being his own cook, was a great mistake. There were but very few good cooks with the best instruction. He selected his cooks with reference to their capacity, and he found his account in it. He had abandoned the

habit of weighing at night the cotton picked by each hand during the day, and whipping the delinquents. He much preferred to assort and match off the hands—putting two upon a row—putting two together of medium agility, and one below average with one above, so that they could be brought through the row about together, and let the overseer look after and put up the lazy ones—by which he saved all the labor of weighing, and the disagreeable business of whipping. And another thing, he did not allow an overseer to maintain a nigger. It created a bad feeling amongst the whole plantation, and then if he wanted to sell the nigger his marks and scars reduced his value. If an overseer could not get along without too frequently drawing blood, he was not the right man for his place. The most successful overseers—those who accomplished the most—made the most cotton to the hand—were those who whipped the least. He would select his niggers, and produce upon his plantation six hundred dollars per annum to a hand, exclusive of the expense of food and clothing, but his plantation would average about four hundred dollars profit per working negro.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

Its Prevention, Detection and Punishment.

BY THE LATE THEODORE SEDGWICK.

1854.

The subject of the slave trade is to be considered with reference (1.) to its prevention, (2.) the detection and punishment of those engaged in it.

Prevention: This can only be effected, if at all, by something in the nature of a detective police. The State Department has now under its control a fund which it places in the hands of the District Attorneys for detective purposes. I have used this fund liberally during the last year, without any beneficial result whatever, except in the case of the *Haidée*, which was indeed one of punishment and not of detection. When to this is added the great inducements held out by our laws to the officers of the revenue in case of a successful seizure, and to the informant in case of a conviction, I am brought to the conclusion that the detection and prevention of the trade by any domestic measures is exceedingly difficult.

There are several circumstances which explain this difficulty. In the first place, there is a legitimate trade in palm oil, &c., with Africa, and the vessels engaged in this traffic go to the same coast where the slavers go for slaves.

Secondly, The articles required for the fitting up of a slave vessel—at all events from this country—are no longer so peculiar as to furnish sufficient testimony for condemnation. The manacles, slave deck, provisions and water casks, taken together, used to be considered conclusive evidence of an unlawful voyage.

But the manacles are no longer deemed necessary, and the deck is taken, if at all from here, in the shape of lumber, to be put up while on the voyage, so that nothing but the provisions and water casks remain, and these alone are very rarely decisive.

Thirdly, The slave voyage is often really begun not from our port, but from some intermediate foreign port. So it was in the case of the *Haidée*. She sailed from here in open daylight on a perfectly legitimate voyage for Cadiz. At Cadiz she fitted out for Africa. In these cases nothing can be done here except by some alteration in our laws, such as I have suggested in a subsequent part of this paper.

Fourth, None of the crew know the destination of the vessel. It was clearly proved in the case of the *Haidée*, that none of the hands knew the vessel was destined for Africa till she reached Cadiz. Then two left her for that reason, and the remainder were kept in the vessel, partly by force and partly by persuasion. Even when the crew suspect the destination of the ship, they can give no facts to support a condemnation. None know the object of the voyage certainly, except the master, and perhaps the mate, and these men are deep in the business as an occupation, and, incited by high wages and the hopes of years of successful employment, are little likely to turn evidence for the United States.

Fifth, It is to be observed that the officers of the United States act under great disadvantages. They can very rarely find anything more than cause of suspicion against a vessel, and if this cause of suspicion does not amount to what the law calls probable cause, the seizing officers are all personally liable. If the court denies a certificate of probable cause, the Collector who directs the suit, the District Attorney who issues the process, and the Marshal who executes it, are all naked trespassers, liable to be mulcted by heavy verdicts, and, at all events, annoyed by vindictive litigation. The Collector of this Port is now threatened with suit for refusing a clearance to the *Henry*, a suspected slaver, by which her voyage was delayed about a week.

As to this point the difficulty might be obviated by an enactment in aid or amplification of the 99th section of the Revenue Act of March 2d, 1799, to the effect that if the Collector, District Attorney and Marshal should, upon consultation, come to the conclusion that there was reasonable ground of sus-

picion that a vessel was engaged or about to be engaged in the slave trade, and file a statement, in writing to that effect with the files under their respective signatures, such fact should be conclusive evidence of probable cause.

If such an enactment were judged not to give too much power to the federal officers, it would be a very efficient instrument. For though the vessels are unknown the parties engaged in the business in this city are generally well known. If the officers of the United States could only be supplied with their reasonable ground of suspicion, it would greatly increase their efficiency in preventing the trade. As the law now stands, so long as these officers are liable as suitors personally for honest error, so long they will certainly not act on the side of an over rigorous preventive service.

The case of the *Wanderer* well illustrates this. The vessel was seized here last summer. Her conduct, &c., &c., was so suspicious that the officers in my office or that of the Marshal, had any doubt she was about to enter upon some illegal enterprise, but the seizure was so totally without facts to support it that it was vain to hope for condemnation. Indeed, so completely was the case one of suspicion alone, that the belief here was that she was bound on some filibustering expedition. Under these circumstances she was necessarily released. The case in this respect is still stronger as to the District Attorney, for whatever interest the Collector and the Marshal may have in seizures, the law officer of the government has none whatever.

Sixth, I have reason to believe that the slave trading vessels often elude the vigilance of the officers of the government by taking in their crew water-casks, &c., after they have got their clearances, and by their being brought to them outside of Sandy Hook, or by receiving them somewhere from Long Island.

The Marshal of this district discovered last summer a tug steamer which was just starting, in the edge of the evening, to take a crew of seamen, baggage, charts, &c., off to a vessel in the lower bay. The character of the men, their property, and the mode of their shipment, left no doubt that the voyage intended was a slave-trading voyage, but we could not get the clearest light on the subject either from the men or the owners of the tug. None of the parties knew where they were going. The man who was to be the captain did not yet come on board. It is in this way and in ways like this, that the law is perpetually foiled.

This difficulty would be met to a certain degree by the 4th section of Mr. Seward's proposed bill. No doubt a small force of armed vessels cruising outside of our harbors, which could be the possible egress of suspicious craft, would be of some service in detecting and stopping them, and I have no doubt that the condition outside of Sandy Hook would often furnish better evidence than inside; but I am not inclined to believe that the practical results would be a sufficient compensation for the great expense of this measure.

I am not disposed to think that the 5th section of Mr. Seward's act would be of any practical value. In the first place, the office of the District Attorney is provided at present with no police force whatever, and neither he nor his legal assistants or clerks are at all the persons (independently of their other pressing occupations) to hunt up slavers. But if such a force were placed at the control of the District Attorney, (and a property and revenue officer no doubt often stands in need of such general help,) still all the difficulties of ties that I have suggested present themselves; and it may well be asked, if these vessels now elude all the rigour of the Custom-house and of private informers stimulated in the highest degree by interest to secure detection, what reason is there to suppose that the District Attorney's office would be more successful?

As far, as detection here is concerned, I see only two improvements that can be made under the present system: (1.) A naval force outside of our ports and along our coast, such as is suggested by Mr. Seward's bill; but I cannot imagine that the great expense of this would be rewarded by commensurate results. I do not understand that the success of the squadron on the coast of Africa is analogous except on our own coasts. (2.) Power alone. This latter would undoubtedly be a very efficient weapon, and though somewhat conflicting with our general notions of the Administration of Criminal Justice, would not, I think, prove liable to abuse. It might, at all events, be tried, as every thing else seems to fail.

Before quitting this part of the subject, I remark that the 4th section of Mr. Seward's new bill seems to me, if I understand the newspaper abstract, open to serious constitutional difficulties. In our system there are, undoubtedly, powers which may be lawfully exercised by the states and the general government; but I believe there is no authority for saying that any power exclusively reserved in Congress can be delegated to the states. And

the suppression of the slave trade comes either under the regulation of commerce or the piracy clause, both essentially exclusive. Until better advised, I do not see how these powers, or either of them, can be delegated to the states for punishment.

The principal acts intended to punish parties engaged in the slave trade, and under which individuals are framed, are the act of 22d March, 1794, ch. 11; the act of 10th May, 1800, ch. 22, of 20th April, 1818, ch. 18, and the act of 15th May, 1820, ch. 113.

My attention has been particularly called to some of the provisions of these acts.

The 4th and 5th sections of the act of 1820 make the criminality of the act of slave-trading in the case of a party not a citizen, which is the case with the vast majority of persons engaged in this traffic depend on the ownership of the vessel, &c., by citizens of the United States. In case of the *Haidée* we failed to convict the crew (all foreigners) solely on the ground that it was impossible to prove the ownership of the vessel in an American citizen, though she had an American register. Whether intentionally or otherwise, the vessel had been so transferred, and notes so given, &c., &c., that though she sailed from this port, as I have stated, with American papers, it was impossible to prove with any certainty where the title was. The register now is no evidence at all of ownership.

I think it would be certainly proper to amend this section by declaring that the purposes of this act, the fact of a vessel sailing under an American register shall be conclusive proof that she was at that time owned, &c., by citizens of the United States. If *bona fide* transfer is subsequently made, let it be proved.

The fourth section of the act of 1818 and the second section of 1820 make it penal for persons other than citizens, residing within the jurisdiction of the United States, to be engaged in the slave trade, &c., &c.

The crews of the vessels fitted out from here for the slave trade are almost without exception foreigners (generally Portuguese or Spaniards). They are too, by deduction, persons of the most fraudulent description, and cannot fairly be said to be residents within the United States. It was on this ground we failed to convict the crew of the *Haidée*, under an indictment framed on this section, their guilt otherwise being so clearly proved. And it is designed to reach this class of persons, some new enactment is indispensable.

It may be said that there is no propriety in punishing a man here for acts done wholly without the jurisdiction; but, by declaring that the shipping of crews is so essential to the business that it is certainly ought not to be allowed to go on with impunity. I think there would be no hardship in making it an offence punishable by fine and imprisonment for any person, resident or non-resident, citizen or alien, to ship in our ports on board a vessel intended to be engaged in the slave trade, and making the fact of the vessel being engaged in the trade within twelve months, evidence that the party shipping men held his destination at the time he signed the articles.

At all events, as the law now stands, it may be considered clear that it is no offence for a foreigner not residing in the United States to ship in any of the ports of the United States on board of a vessel with the avowed intention of carrying on the trade, and even if he carries his intent on into effect.

I may say, generally, in regard to the capital punishment annexed to the act of slave-trading, that the act of 1820, to the fact of slave-trading, that as to foreigners, certainly, and in most cases as regard to our older citizens, I think it out of proportion to the penalty attached to other grades of crime.

I do not enter upon the constitutional question, though I certainly think it beyond the competence of Congress, under the constitution, to make this piracy which nobody called piracy until the late charter was adopted, and which is not piracy according to any proper use of language. I am willing to assume that the power to regulate commerce covers the ground, though I am upon question it would seem to me very doubtful. I put my doubts solely on the ground that I think a more violent punishment would, in most of the northern states, be much more likely to be inflicted.

There are exceptions, such as cases where it can be clearly proved that the lives of many victims of the trade have been saved by the party under indictment; but as a general rule, I think it would not, I am satisfied, look on a slave trader as they do upon a murderer.

I have no doubt many other suggestions might be made in regard to the 4th and 5th sections, and much to their improvement. But I have intended to confine myself to such as have presented themselves to my mind, growing out of my own personal experience in the office which I now hold.

JULY 28, 1860

Two O'Clock

New Phase of American Commerce.

ACTIVITY AMONG THE SLAYERS.

To the Editors of the Evening Post:

As a continuation of the article published on the 26th instant, please find enclosed:

List of Slaves under the American Flag, from January, 1852, to July 18th, 1860 (Embracing the Administration of James Buchanan).

1. Bark Antelope, 214 tons, Johnson, from New York to Remedios and Africa.—Captured by a British cruiser. Purchased by a Spaniard.
2. Bark Ardenas, 242 tons, Pelletier, from Havana and Jacksonville to Canary Islands.—Captured by a British cruiser, sent to New York with prize crew from United States steamship Maraca. Owned in Havana.
3. Bark Asa Fish, 221 tons, Dickie.—Landed cargo of slaves, vessel destroyed. Owned in Havana. Sailed from New York.
4. Ship Atlantic, 699 tons, Silva.—Cleared from New Bedford as a whaler. Voyage broken up. Owned by Spaniards in Havana.
Do. 699 tons, Merrill.—Cleared from New York as a whaler. No charge in ownership.
5. Bark Angelita, (Spanish), 236 tons.—Cleared from Savannah for St. Jago.
6. Bark Ann.—No clearance reported in the papers.
7. Herm. brig Angeline, 150 tons.—No clearance reported in the papers. Owned by Portuguese ex Brazilians.
8. Bark Belle, 286 tons, Stewart.—Cleared by a Shipbroker on Old Slip, for Havana account. Landed a cargo, vessel destroyed.
9. Herm. brig Broome, 213 tons.—From Havana. Two cargoes landed. Vessel at present under the Spanish flag.
10. Herm. brig Brewster, 147 tons, Marsh.—From New Orleans for Congo river. Cleared by a Spanish firm. Owned in Havana by Spaniards.
11. Bark Buckeye, 238 tons, Booth.—From New York for St. George de Elmina, by Booth, Tucker & Co. Purchased by a Portuguese on Pearl street for account of parties in Havana.
12. Brig Bonto, 276 tons, Raymond.—For St. Thomas and market, by J. S. Raymond & Bro. Purchased by Spaniards. Clearance suppressed in most of the papers (July 16th, 1860).
13. Herm. brig C. H. Sampson, 156 tons, Davis.—From New York. Clearance suppressed. Landed a cargo. Vessel changed owners several times.
14. Ship Comora, 429 tons, Maciel.—From New Bedford as a whaler. Has been out over one year. Landed one cargo. Last report, at Bahia clear. Owned by Portuguese and Spaniards.
15. Herm. brig Cosmopolite, 143 tons.—From Cardenas. Rig changed to schooner.
16. Bark Corinthian, 253 tons.—Wrecked near Cardenas. Purchased by a Spaniard. Sails for the coast of Africa.
17. Herm. brig Cynet, 199 tons, Cottell.—From Philadelphia for Canary Isles. Owned by Spaniards. Landed a cargo of slaves, is abandoned, picked up by United States steamer Mobawk. Sold by United States. Has been sold again for the slave trade.
18. Bark C. E. Tay, 257 tons, Trainor.—From New York. Cleared by a firm unknown to the New York Directory. Vessel detained. Allowed to sail under bonds for \$20,000. Owned by Spaniards and Portuguese.
19. Bark Cora, 431 tons, Latham.—From New York. Cleared by master. Owned at Havana. Vessel detained and discharged. Allowed to sail under bonds. Fitted out by a mongrel Spaniard.

20. Brig Charlotte, 283 tons, Lockhart.—Cleared from New York. Owned by Portuguese. Vessel destroyed.
21. Bark Clara Windsor, 206 tons, Power.—From New York for Havana. Purchased for Spanish account, to fit out there.
22. Propeller City of Norfolk, 372 tons.—Cleared from St. Thomas, W. I., for Barcelona, Va. Owned by Spaniards in Havana. Cleared from New York by Wall street Havana Packet Office.
23. Herm. brig D. Webster, 193 tons, Baisson.—Cleared from New York by master. Owned by the captain and Spaniard at Havana.
24. Herm. brig Ellen, 143 tons, Danbury.—Cleared for St. Thomas by master. Portuguese property. Vessel destroyed.
25. Ship Erie, 476 tons, Gordon.—Cleared from Havana by Hamel & Co., for Spanish account. Vessel owned by Spaniards.
26. Ship Ellerslie, 407 tons.—Cleared from Matanzas, by Spaniards in Havana.
27. Bark Emma Lincoln, 293 tons, Palmer.—Cleared from New York by master. Fitted out by a shipbroker on Old Slip. Detained and overboarded in Congo River by British and United States cruisers. Returns to New York. Voyage broken up. Spanish proprietors.
Do., Palmer.—Do. No report.
28. Bark E. A. Rawlins, 273 tons.—Cleared from Havana for Mantua, Spain. Captain murdered by crew. Vessel sold by the United States at Apalachicola. Spanish property.
29. Schooner Enterprise, 98 tons, Morantes.—Cleared from Havana for Cartagena. Run on shore by crew and captain murdered.
30. Bark Emily, 300 tons, Lindsey.—Cleared from New York by Richardson. Vessel purchased by a Spaniard (same as No. 1), for a Captain Gomez, who goes in ber. Vessel captured by a British cruiser and sent back with prize. Crew from United States steamer Marion.
Do., do.—Cleared by master. Sails under bonds.
31. Bark E. A. Kinsman, 269 tons, Downs.—Cleared from New York for Havana. Foundered at sea. Owned by Americans and Spaniards.
32. Herm. brig Frances Ellen, 277 tons, Hedland.—Cleared from Charleston, South Carolina, for St. George de Elmina, by a Spanish firm. Vessel owned in Havana. Landed a cargo.
33. Brig Falmouth, 205 tons, Lains.—Cleared from New York. Vessel owned by Spaniards and Portuguese. Seized at Cape Verdes by United States steamer Portsmouth and sent back—Will sail again under bonds.
34. Bark Frederick Deming, 216 tons, Bussing.—Cleared from New York for Cape Town. Owned by Spaniards.
35. Schooner Hanover, 206 tons, Ayres.—Cleared by a Portuguese firm from New York. Owned by Portuguese. Is reported to have landed one cargo. Close watched by the United States revenue cutter when last in port.
36. Bark Hungarian, 313 tons, Dickie.—Cleared from New York by master. Owned in Havana by Spaniards. Fitted out by Portuguese. Landed a cargo and vessel destroyed.
37. Bark Isla de Cuba, 215 tons, Miller.—Cleared by a Portuguese firm from New York. Landed cargo of slaves, and returned to New York.
Do., do., Dobson.—Cleared by master from New York. Captain leaves vessel at Cape Verdes, and she is brought back to Boston by mate. Vessel since forfeited to the United States for being engaged in slave-trade.
Do., do., Larkin.—Cleared by master from New York. Captured by British cruiser and released. Landed ber cargo, and vessel destroyed. Portuguese property.
38. Bark Iowa, 263 tons, Johnson.—Cleared from New York as a whaler by master. Purchased by a Spaniard, (for Havana account), same as Nos. 1 and 30.
39. Schooner Josephine, 212 tons, Carter.—Cleared from New York. Same purchaser as above, for Havana account.
40. Brig J. Boynton, 208 tons, Hinkley.—Cleared from New York. Purchased for account of Spain, in Havana.
41. Brig Jebosse, 224 tons, Vincent.—Cleared from Charleston. Captured by a British cruiser and released. Voyage broken up, and returns to port.
42. Bark Julia Dean, 298 tons, Hedlund.—Cleared from Charleston. Owned by Spaniards in Havana. Captured by a United States cruiser, and sent to Norfolk. Forfeited to the United States.
43. Brig J. Harris, 249 tons, Steele.—Cleared from New York by ship-broker on Old Slip. Vessel and cargo owned by Spaniards in Havana. Captured by a British cruiser, with 550 slaves.
44. Bark J. J. Cobb, 308 tons.—British cruiser with 550 slaves. Cleared from Havana for St. Thomas. Owned by Spaniards in Havana. Landed a cargo and is turned adrift.
Do.—Landed a cargo.
45. Herm. brig John P. Hooper, 123 tons, Paine.—Cleared from Havana. Owned by Spaniards in Havana. Landed a cargo. Returns to New York; is under seizure for nearly a year—later cleared for Havana. Light vessel.
46. Schooner Juana, 131 tons.—Cleared for St. Jago. Owned in that port. Reported to have been captured by a British cruiser.
47. Bark Kate, 267 tons, Otto.—Cleared from New York. Owned by Spaniards in Havana. Under seizure.
48. Bark Laurens, 428 tons, Curtis.—Cleared from New London and New York as a whaler. Owned by a Portuguese of New York in company with Spaniards in Havana. Landed a cargo of slaves and vessel destroyed.
49. Bark Laura, 206 tons.—Cleared from New Orleans by a Spanish firm. Vessel under Mexican flag, and owned in Havana. Captured by a British cruiser.
50. Herm. brig Lillie Mills, 190 tons, Weeks.—Cleared from Havana. Owned there by Spaniards. Captured by a British cruiser.
51. Bark Lyra, 217 tons, Dickie.—Cleared from Havana. Owned there by Spaniards. Seized at Key West. Forfeited to United States.
52. Ship Memphis, 798 tons, Moody.—Cleared from New Bedford by master. Vessel fitted out as a whaler, and owned by Spaniards in Havana. Has been out 18 months, and landed one cargo. Last report at Payta, clear.
53. Ship Montauk, 505 tons, Quayle.—Cleared from New York as a whaler. Owned by Spaniards in Havana. Last report at Payta, clear.
54. Schooner Mariquita, 141 tons, Barrett.—Cleared and owned by a Portuguese. Vessel detained and discharged. Allowed to sail under bonds. Owned by same as No. 47.
55. Brig Navey, 219 tons.—Cleared from Havana; Owned by Spaniards. Has landed one or two cargoes.
56. Bark Ottawa, 277 tons, Gordon.—Cleared from Mobile for St. Thomas and a market. Owned in Havana by Spaniards. Landed a cargo and vessel destroyed.
57. Bark Orion, 449 tons.—Cleared by a ship broker on Old Slip. Vessel and cargo cleared by the Portuguese Miraca, for export to Havana. Captured by British cruiser, and sent back to the United States by United States ship Maraca.
58. Bark Orion, 449 tons, Morgan.—Cleared and owned by master. No charge in ownership. Captured by a British cruiser with 800 slaves. Captain Morgan and others awaiting trial. Bond given for return. Vessel and cargo forfeited to the United States by Judge Smedley.
59. Bark Pampluna, 241 tons.—Cleared from New York and Havana. Owned by Spaniards at Havana. Captured by British cruiser, with 700 slaves.

59. Brig *Pennac*, 187 tons, Townsend.—Owned by Portuguese firm in New York. One of her owners was on board and landed at Cardenas. Short time after, is captured by United States brig-of-war with 318 slaves. Had previously landed one cargo and returned to New Orleans.
60. Bark *Panchita*, 260 tons, Stanhope.—Cleared from New York. Owned by Americans and Portuguese. Captured by British cruiser and sent with prize crew to New York. On arrival they are arrested by pretended owners of vessel. Lays in port some time, and is cleared by master. Lands some 450 slaves between Havana and Matanzas and is scuttled.
61. Schooner *Peter Mowell*, 129 tons.—Cleared from New Orleans by a Spanish firm. Owned in Havana by Spaniards.
62. Ship *Rebecca*, 524 tons, Carter.—Cleared from New Orleans by same firm as above. Owned by Spaniards at Cienfuegos. Landed about 400, and vessel destroyed.
63. Bark *Star of the East*, 216 tons, Hinckley.—Cleared from New York by P. L. Pearce for a Portuguese firm. Vessel owned by Spaniards in Havana. Lands a cargo. Vessel destroyed.
64. Schooner *Stephen H. Townsend*, 132 tons.—Cleared by Goldenboro & Lesparre, of New Orleans, for St. Thomas and market. Captured by British cruiser.
65. Sloop *Sunny South*, 702 tons.—Cleared from New York and Havana. Purchased by a Spaniard through a (Hanover square) ship broker, and owned by Spaniards.
66. Bark *Sultana*, 457 tons, Bowen.—Cleared by master. Purchased by same as above for account of the same. Landed a cargo and vessel burnt.
67. Brig *Storm King*, 220 tons, Lockhart.—Cleared from New York by master. Owned by Spaniards at Havana. Fitted out by Portuguese. Two Deputy Marshals under indictment with her escape.
68. Herm. brig, *Tavernier*, 150 tons, Johnson.—Cleared from Cardenas. Owned by Spaniards. Captured by British cruiser, with 520 slaves.
70. Herm. brig *Tyrant*, 211 tons, Lind.—Cleared from New York by a Portuguese firm. Owned

by Spaniards in Havana. Lands a cargo. Vessel abandoned, and taken by wreckers into Key West.

71. Herm. brig *Triton*, 211 tons, Buisson.—Same vessel as above. Lost on her voyage from New Orleans. Ostensibly bound for Cienfuegos. Owned by Spaniards.
72. Ship *Thos. Watson*, 340 tons, Allen.—Cleared from New York as a whaler. Was sold previous to her arrival, and is now Portuguese and Spanish property.
73. Herm. brig *Thos. Achorn*, 250 tons, Bain.—Cleared from New York. Owned in Havana by Spaniards. Fitted out by Portuguese.
74. Ship *Tahmaro*, 371 tons, Hathaway.—Cleared from New Bedford as a whaler. No report of her ownership.
75. Brig *Virginian*, 225 tons, Lind.—Cleared by a Portuguese, vessel owned by Spaniards at Havana. Seized by United States cruiser at suggestion of British cruiser in Congo river. Sent to Norfolk with prize crew.
- Do. 225 tons, Storm.—No clearance reported. Seized at Bermuda for being a slaver.
76. Bark *Wildfire*, 237 tons, Stanhope.—Cleared by master. Owned in Havana by Spaniards, fitted out by Portuguese. Captured by United States cruiser with cargo of slaves.
77. Bark *William*, 232 tons, Finnis.—Cleared from Havana, owned by a Spaniard. Captured by a United States cruiser with a cargo of slaves.
78. Bark *Wm. C. Lewis*, 265 tons, Faulkner.—Cleared from New York. Previously a sham auction sale took place, and no change in ownership. Owned by the same person as 45 and 61. Supposed to be the *Bogota*, which was captured by a United States cruiser.

79. Brig *Wm. R. Kibby*, 190 tons, Otto.—Cleared from New York. Fitted out by a Portuguese; owned by a Spaniard in Havana. A clearance was refused to her in that port.

80. Schooner *yacht Wyrelin*, 81 tons, Fields.—Cleared by master, from Boston, for St. Thomas and a market. Has landed a cargo. Last reports at St. Thomas, W. I., for sale.
81. Herm. brig *W. H. Stewart*, 206 tons.—Cleared at Havana. Owned by Spaniards. Captured by British cruiser.
82. Herm. brig *W. M. Croton*, 239 tons, Bettles.—Cleared from Havana. Owned by Spaniards. Landed a cargo and returned to Apalachicola.
83. Bark *White Cloud*, 235 tons, Hatch.—Cleared at Havana. Owned by Spaniards.
84. Schooner *yacht Wanderer*, 250 tons, Farnham.—Cleared from Savannah by Americans. Owned by Americans. Landed a cargo in Florida.

Do., *Patten*.—No clearance. Mate and crew ran away with her—returned to Boston. Vessel bonded in \$5,000, worth about \$13,000 @ \$15,000. Is forfeited to the United States. Now at Havana for sale.

85. Herm. brig *W. Taylor Hall*, 190 tons, Oliver.—Cleared by master from Baltimore for St. Thomas and a market. Lands a cargo, and is abandoned. Found and taken into Nassau.

Added to the eighty-five above slavers, some half dozen have gone through the Sound, and names of which could not be obtained. This is about as correct a list as can be got up and derived from the New York city papers and the English journals. Some twenty vessels have been detained under suspicion; a great many others have cleared from European and South American ports. At future periods I will keep you well informed of slaver movements and the biographies of a few of them, those conversant with such affairs will apply the notices to whomsoever they think proper. SOUTH STREET.

New York, July 28th, 1860.

More Slave Traders—"Still They Come."

To the Editors of the Evening Post:

By advices just received from Cuba, please add two more to the list of cargoes landed from Congo. A vessel called J. Davis, or J. L. Davis, landed three hundred near Cardenas, having landed three hundred at some other point. Another, name not ascertained, landed a cargo of four or five hundred near Remedios. The United States steamer came in sight just fifteen minutes too late to overhaul the last mentioned "blackbird" trader.

Yours,

LAWRENCE.

AUCTION OF WHITE MEN ON LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY

fifty Unemployed Placed on the Block
at Brooklyn and Their Services Auctioned to Bidders.

New York, Feb. 12.—An auction of white men on Lincoln's birthday was the spectacle which drew thousands of persons to the Parkside Presbyterian church in Flatbush, Brooklyn, tonight. The auction was a reality an object lesson of the conditions prevailing among working people and served to get jobs for a number of men.

The church was crowded when Rev. John B. Long outlined the pitiable condition of many a man who was willing to work, but unable to secure a position. Outside the church a crowd of 3000 struggled to get into the already overcrowded house of worship. Rev. Mr. Long introduced T. O'Laughlin, who was to conduct the auction.

Mr. O'Laughlin outlined his plan, to which, he said, the men he would present had agreed. This was to offer them, as it were, on the block to the person who would give them a job by which they could earn subsistence and a few dollars besides if possible. The money, however, was to be an after consideration, because the men who had come to him wanted food and shelter principally.

Mr. O'Laughlin then led on the platform 50 men, young and old, all more or less shabbily garbed. All of the men wore black masks so as to conceal their identity to all but purchasers. Each man was numbered and so they were put on the block.

No. 10 was the first man presented. He was described as an iron-worker and moulder.

Several men in the audience walked to the platform and, as in slavery days, critically surveyed the subject. One man went so far as to feel of the man's limbs and muscles. It was finally announced that the man had been "sold" to W. F. Copeland, who would give him employment in an industrial association in New York.

No. 21 was next put up. He was described as a man who had taken part in the Boer war and as having seen service in the United States army in the Philippines. He was an electrician by trade. No. 21 went to a Flatbush family. It was announced that the family would give him \$35 a month and board.

No. 23, a painter, went to a Newark, N. J., man, who promised him \$10 a week, while No. 14, a gray-haired man, was taken away by a young man who said he would give him a home and work at once.

Thus six men in all were disposed of when, as the hour was waxing late, the spectators, many of whom keenly felt the scenes they had witnessed, formed themselves into a committee, took charge of the remaining 41 men and promised to find homes and jobs for them.

Rev. Mr. Long and several others then addressed the people outside the church, telling what had been done and asking aid for the many unemployed in Greater New York.

John D. Rockefeller, who had been invited to be present, sent a telegram regretting his inability to attend.

Rev John Long

Slavery in New England.

Editor of The Times:

Sir—I did not get an opportunity until to-day to read your editorial on slavery in Virginia, and the address of Mr. Munford, both in your issue of Sunday the 22d.

As a slight contribution to the same subject allow me to send you some extracts from "Side Glances from the Colonial Meeting House," by W. R. Bliss, of Essex county, New Jersey, published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1894. Our friends of the North studiously conceal the facts of history relative to slavery in the North, but Mr. Bliss has given some of them with a candor that is really refreshing. He says: "It was ruin that forced the growth of slavery in New England. The business of distilling it from molasses had become at the end of the seventeenth century an important factor in all sea commerce. Connecticut prohibited distilling because it made molasses scarce; but the prohibition was stopped when business began to go where ruin could be obtained. In the year 1750 there were more than thirty distilleries in Massachusetts and thirty in Rhode Island turning molasses into rum, gallon for gallon. Rum proved to be the best commodity in trading with the Southern colonies for tobacco, with Indians for furs, with Newfoundland fishermen for cod fish, and with the Guinea coast for slaves. The commerce in rum and slaves—making a circuit from New England to the West India Islands, thence to Africa, thence back to the islands with slaves, thence home with molasses and such negroes as had not been disposed of at the islands—furnished nearly all the money that was annually permitted to pay for merchandise brought from England. The importation of slaves began early. The first arrival at Boston was by the ship Desire, February 20, 1637, bringing negroes, tobacco, and cotton from Barbadoes. She had sailed from Boston eleven months before carrying Indian captives to the Bermudas to be sold as slaves, and thus she became noted as the first New England slave ship. In time, slaves were brought to Boston and Newport direct from Africa. Peter Faneuil, to whom Boston is indebted for its cradle of liberty, was deep in the business. Thomas Amory, one of the solid men of Boston, was distilling rum, and selling slaves to customers in North Carolina to one of whom he writes in the year 1724, saying: "In the fall we expect negroes here direct from Guinea, a vessel having sailed from here, and one from Rhode Island." Advertisements of "Just Arrived" negroes may be seen in the Boston News-Letter of 1728 and 1727. "To be sold. A parcel of negroes just arrived, viz.: men, women, boys and girls. They are to be seen at Captain Nathaniel Jarvis' House near Scarlet Wharf." "Likely negro boy and girl just arrived, to be sold by Mr. Samuel Sleigh, at Messieurs Oliver & Welsleeds Warehouse on the Dock, Boston." "Several very likely young negroes of each sex, just arrived, to be sold at six or twelve months' credit, on good security, by Mr. Hugh Hall, merchant, at whose warehouse on Mr. Pitt's wharfe, is sold Barbadoes rum." "There was no hesitation in selling slaves on the auction block. I find in this Boston News-Letter of September 19, 1715, a notice of an auction sale 'at Newport, R. I., of several Indians, men and boys, and a very likely negro man'; and in the issue January 23, 1730, is advertised an auction sale in Boston of 'two likely negroes.' 'Tidy white treated in all respects as merchandise; they were rated with horses and cattle. In an inventory of the property of Parson Williams, of Deerfield, of the year 1723, his slaves Meshech and Kedah were rated with a 'one-eyed horse' and a 'weak back cow' at £30 each. I copy these lines from the inventory of Thomas

Bunker's estate, at Nantucket in the year 1721:

"The Indian boy Peleg..... £20
The Indian girl Darcia..... 10
An old horse..... 5
22 turkeys..... 2"

In the inventory of the estate of Damaris Coffin, of Nantucket, in the year 1728, are three negro slaves rated at £107, 10s, and two hundred and seventy-four sheep, with ninety-seven lambs, rated at £105, 12s. In an inventory of her neighbor, Nathaniel Gardner, in the year 1733, I find "one negro boy, Toby," rated at £80, with a bull, a cow, a horse, seventy-seven sheep, eleven pewter porringers, a warming pan, and a clock, at £62. Slaves were the most valuable part of the household property."

"The mother of a slave had no title to her child, as appears from the following advertisements published at Boston in December, 1738:

"A likely young negro woman that hath been about twelve months in the country, and her child, four years old, to be sold."

"There is a strong able negro servant woman of 24 years of age fit for either town or country service, being accustomed to both, hath had the smallpox and speaks good English. As also a child of 16 months old. To be sold."

"In 1752 Isaac Freeman wanted a cargo of rum and molasses and his correspondent replied: 'There are so many vessels loading for Guinea we cannot get one hoghead of rum for cash. We have been lately to New London and all along the seaport towns in order to purchase molasses, but we can't get one hoghead.'"

"In 1768 Simon Potter instructed the captain of his vessel sailing for Africa: 'Make your chief trade with the blacks, and little or none with the white people, if possible to be avoided. Wotter (wetter) ye rum as much as possible, and sell as much by short measure as you can.' This man represented the commercial morality of the times, when honesty was not always considered to be best policy. John Hancock was a smuggler of tea; Peter Faneuil was a smuggler of brandies; it was a common event to find bundles of shingles short in number, quintals of fish short in weight, casks of rum and hogheads of molasses short in gallons."

"By watering the rum, by smuggling, by short measures, and by slave trading, there grew up in the colonial meeting-house a class of rich and respected men, whose descendants have been enjoying results of wealth so acquired."

Samuel Sewall was known as Judge Sewall, Deacon Sewall, and Captain Sewall. "In the Boston News-Letter of June 23, 1726, this advertisement appeared:

"To be sold by Mr. Samuel Sewall at his house on the Common, Boston, several likely young negro men and boys just arrived."

"The business of trading in slaves was not immoral by the estimate of public opinion in colonial times. A deacon of the church in Newport esteemed the slave trade with its rum accessories as home missionary work. It is said that on the first Sunday after the arrival of his slaves he was accustomed to offer thanks 'that an overruling Providence had been pleased to bring to this land of freedom another cargo of benighted heathen to enjoy the blessings of a gospel dispensation.'"

"In the New Haven Gazette of November 9, 1786, there appeared this advertisement:

"To be sold at public vendue on Tues-

day, 28th of November instant, at the dwelling house of Captain Enos Atwater, of Cheshire, deceased, a good negro wench, about twenty years old. Also a brass wheeled clock, a weaver's loom with tackling, sundry feather beds, and furniture, and a variety of articles of household furniture too numerous to mention."

"And this from the New Haven Chronicle of January 23, 1787:

"Wanted to purchase—A number of likely young negroes from 14 to 20 years of age. Enquire of D. Bowen."

"And this from the New Haven Gazette of April 3, 1787:

"To be sold a healthy, strong and active negro boy about 11 years of age. Enquire of the printers."

"A negro woman was burned at the stake in Charlestown in 1755." See pages 13 to 23.

I could send you many other extracts from this book which is delightfully interesting, but I have sent you enough to show wit, wisdom, and how, and why the slave trade originated, but no man can show he disagreed their hypocrisy and their perversion of the plainest truths of history.

R. S. THOMAS.

Apr. 1939

for a beginner. But the greatest bothers are, here, as in most other rural districts, with servants, who are troublesome enough; and the want of society: for after all poetizing on the subject of the virtues of the tillers of the soil, it is quite certain the wicked dwellers of towns and cities make more agreeable companions and warmer friends. But the land is beautiful, and my territory, taken by itself, with all its poverty, a most lovely spot and withal I believe perfectly healthy. At least, every body says so, and I am happy to declare we have all enjoyed perfect health up to this moment. My boy has grown a prodigy, and so, I suppose, has the youthful Arthur. Nothing like country air, running space, fences to climb and ducks, chickens, pigs and calves to play with, for aspiring boyhood.

My best regards to Mrs. M'C and family. And believe me

Ever yours,

ROBERT M. BIRD.

Near St. Augustine, Cecil Co., Md.

Dr. Geo. M'Clellan.

(A. L. S. Folio, 2½ pages).

SLAVER D'WOLFE DROWNS SLAVE FOR SANITARY REASONS

Personally appeared Isaac Stockman and Henry Clanning Mariners who being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God severally depose and say That they are both natives of Newport in the State of Rhode Island; that they sailed from Acra one of the Danish Settlements on the Coast of Africa most about the fifteenth day of September one thousand Seven hundred and Eighty nine in the Ship Polly belonging to the said Town of Newport in the State of Rhode Island commanded by Captain James D'Wolfe with a Cargo of one hundred and twenty Seven Slaves;

That about ten days after their departure from the Coast of Africa the smallpox made its appearance in an alarming manner upon one of the female Slaves; that in order to prevent this dreadful disorder from spreading and infecting the Ship's Crew (which consisted of fifteen white people five

only of whom had had it) the diseased woman was moved to the main-top where every attention was paid to her and every assistance afforded her, that the Situation they were in would allow. That in the course of Three or four days her disorder encreased so as to become offensive and to render it dangerous for her to remain on board. That in Latitude, two, North or thereabouts; Captain D'Wolfe being very much alarmed and under great apprehensions called the mate and Crew together in order to consult with them upon the Steps to be taken to prevent this dreadful disorder from getting among the Crew and Cargo; he represented to them that it would in all probability be at least fifty or sixty days before they could arrive at the port of their destination; that they had it not in their power to afford any effectual medical assistance to such as might take the disorder;

That if it should spread among the Crew and Cargo the negroes must be confined in the hold where the excessive heat would increase the effects of the disease and that a dreadful mortality must inevitably ensue, and to compleat their unfortunate Situation the Slaves they had on board were of a Nation famed for insurrection, so that if the Crew were attacked with the disorder, it would afford them an opportunity to execute any plot they might form, seeing so many of the Crew were under apprehensions for their own personal Safety and were likely to become incapable of affording any assistance in navigating the Vessel, much less in making resistance, if a revolt should be attempted.

Under these circumstances and as the severity of the disorder left no appearance of the woman's recovery, but on the contrary confirmed those who had had the smallpox in the belief that she would die in a short time, no alternative was left to save the Crew and Cargo, which consisted of one hundred and forty two Souls, but to throw this one, so dangerously infected, over board; which was accordingly done and each of the Crew who had had the disorder together with the Captain joined their assistance in effecting it.

The said Isaac Stockman and Henry Clanning further on their Oath declare, that this act so far from having been accompanied by malice or wantonness or for want of due Consideration, the Captain and whole Crew even equally

affected at the Circumstance, which compelled them to adopt this disagreeable alternative, being the only one from which, in their Situation they could obtain the necessary relief.

The said Isaac Stockman and Henry Clanning do further solemnly declare that the forgoing deposition has been deliberately read over to them and that they have deposed thereto and subscribed the same without any fee or reward or without any fear dread or compulsion of or from any person whatever, but of their own free will and accord, and the same contains the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Sworn to this second day of October in the year one thousand and Seven hundred and ninety four. Before me Joannes Runnels.

(A. D. S. Folio 3 pages).

**P. LYMAN: JOHNSON'S WAR COUNCIL
RE TICONDEROGA**

Camp at Lake George Monday Evening 20th October, 1755.

At a Council of War summoned by Major General Johnson.

Present—Major General Lyman

All the Field Officers at this Camp (except 60

Colonel Willard & Lt. Colonel Whitcomb absent by

Sickness & Major Richardson

Capt Eyre Chief Engineer &

Capt Glasier Adjutant General

Major Daughtry of a Massachusetts Regimt at Albany.

PETER WRAXALL, Secry.

This General having summon'd this Council of War, and by reason of his ill state of health being unable to attend in person, desires Major General Lyman to Preside, and has directed Peter Wraxall his Secretary & aid du Camp to lay before this Council of War the following Letters & papers which are just now come to his hands by an Express from Albany.

1. A Letter from Sir Charles Hardy Govr. of New York now at Albany, with the minutes of a Council he call'd there.

2. A Letter from Govr Fitch of Connecticut.
3. A Letter from Colo. Oliver Partridge from Albany, who is there as an agent from the Committee of War of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.
4. A Letter from Colo. Peter Gilman of New Hampshire Regiment of Reinforcements arriv'd at Albany.

Upon which the General desires they will in particular advise him what answer they think proper for him to make to the following paragraph in Col. Partridges Letter "I also inform'd Govr. Hardy of what I was charg'd with from the province, I had his advice to send an Express to your Honour to know, wether it is possible to go thro' with the Expedition this Fall, if the provisions & Stores were speedily sent up? I must beg your Honour's answer to this important Question, that I may know how to Govern my self in the affairs committed to my charge and I think I may assure your Honour that the Stores on the part of Massachusetts shall not be wanting.

The President put the Question, whether it was advisable to proceed with the Expedition this Fall?

Voted in the Negative for the following Reasons (adjourn'd to 5 o'Clock to morrow Evening).

21st. 5 o'Clock, met according to adjournment.

Present as Yesterday.

In the first place beg leave to Refer to a Report of the State of the Army as unanimously agreed to by a Council of War the 11th & 12. instant lately transmitted to the several Governments for their consideration with respect to the Decrease of the Waggon's, Increase of the badness of the Roads, Difficulty of passing the Rivers &c.

2nd. Before it would be possible by the whole united force of all the Governments concern'd to afford us a proper supply, which we apprehend would not be possible till the middle of November nor even then, the Lake would be in danger of Freezing, or the Wind high & boisterous, which would endanger the loss of our Army by water and especially our Artillery, and by a small scum of Ice prevent our passage, or cut off all manner of supply of provisions, which might if our army gone forward, leave us in a desperate situation.



Lincoln Lore

November, 1974

Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation...Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor. Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1641

Robert Dale Owen, "an intelligent, disinterested, and patriotic gentleman."

By the middle of the twentieth century, the study of slavery was thought by many to have reached a stalemate. Slaves did not leave their own written record, and the record written by their masters and by outside travellers, visitors, and observers had been milked for all it was worth. In every case, this indirect evidence boiled down to a matter of interpretation. Plantation records, for example, frequently contained complaints that slaves were sloppy workers, that they abused the animals, that they broke a lot of hoes. Historians of one political or social persuasion said that this was a form of sabotage by which slaves showed their resentment at what they knew to be their unnatural and unjust condition. Historians of another persuasion claimed that it meant that slave labor was simply unskilled and inefficient. The argument could go on endlessly because the body of fact on which the interpretation was based did not grow. There was very little new information after Ulrich B. Phillips did his pioneering work from plantation records in the 1910's.

Since that time, however, there have been two significant developments which have made the study of slavery livelier than ever. The first came with the publication in 1947 of Frank Tannenbaum's slender little volume entitled *Slave and Citizen* (New York: Knopf). Tannenbaum's idea was that something new could be said about slavery if it was examined on a comparative basis. That is, the same old facts that had been argued about for so long could be seen in a new and revealing light if they were compared to the facts from slave cultures other than that of the antebellum southern United States. The result of the application of this aperçu to studies of slavery was, by and large, the judgment that North American slavery was the harshest ever practiced in the world, that the black man in antebellum Mississippi, say, was unique in world history because of the degree to which his status had been reduced to that of a chattel, the master's private property. The North American slave had really become a thing, in short. By contrast, Brazilian slaves had lived in a Catholic country with a feudal heritage (via Spain), and they benefited from the relative strength that hoary institutions traditionally exercised over the efforts of individual citizens. The church demanded that slave marriages be solemnized, the parish priest visited the plantations to hear of abuses of slaves by masters, the punishments an

owner could mete out to his private property were limited by law, and in general the will of the individual was restrained from reducing the slave's humanity to chattel-dom.

The sort of insight that could be gained from old forms of evidence is illustrated by Stanley Elkins's controversial book, *Slavery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959). He addressed the old problem of whether broken hoes meant sabotage or slovenliness by invoking the comparative perspective. North American slavery was so brutal that it resembled the conditions in Nazi concentration camps, said Elkins. In those camps there had been little rebelliousness or sabotage because the inmates had been "infantilized"; they had become virtual children with no will to resist paternal authority. This explanation accounted for the relative infrequency of slave revolts in the United States as compared to Brazil. Rebellion feeds on hope. Ironically therefore, Brazil experienced countless huge uprisings, whereas the United States had only three. The "revolts that actually did occur," said Elkins of the North American experience, "were in no instance planned by plantation laborers but rather by

Negroes whose qualities of leadership were developed well outside the full coercions of the plantation authority-system. Gabriel, who led the revolt in 1800, was a blacksmith who lived a few miles outside Richmond; Denmark Vesey, leading spirit of the 1822 plot at Charleston, was a freed Negro artisan who had been born in Africa and served several years aboard a slave-trading vessel; and Nat Turner, the Virginia slave who fomented the massacre of 1831, was a literate preacher of recognized intelligence."

The second great development in recent studies of slavery was less a result of historical insight than of technology. Historians have begun to apply modern tools of quantification to the study of slavery. Thus they can give proper statistical weight to the evidence chosen selectively by previous historians, and they can look at the institution itself more than at the description of the institution left by masters and outside observers. The results are just beginning to appear, and some of them are quite startling. Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, for example, argued in *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1974) that the slave family was stable and patriarchal, that such families were



Courtesy of the Indiana Historical Society Library

FIGURE 1. Robert Dale Owen (1801-1877) was born in Glasgow but came to the United States when he was twenty-four. For years he lived at New Harmony, Indiana, where his father had established an experimental social community. In his youth, Owen worked for liberal divorce laws, equalization of wealth, and free thought, but his zeal to abolish slavery came only late in his life.

rarely shattered by the domestic slave trade, that fully 25 percent of male slaves were managers and artisans rather than field hands, that slave agriculture was profitable and more efficient than free agriculture, and that it was so because the black laborer was a good laborer and not a saboteur or slovenly incompetent.

One particular aspect of the current mania for figures has been a reevaluation of the incidence and effects of the African slave trade. The result was simple: Brazilian and West Indian slavery was sustained throughout their careers by fresh importations of African slaves. In the United States, slavery grew by natural increase. After 1808, the trade was forbidden by the constitution, and most states outlawed it well before that date. The implications of these results, however, are complicated. For one thing, they seem to reverse the insights of the original practitioners of the comparative approach: hoary institutions or no, other slave cultures seem to have burned up their slaves in five to seven years and simply ordered new ones for replacement. In the United States, on the other hand, slaves were treated paternalistically enough for the system to thrive by the natural increase of the slave population. For another, the relative incidence of slave revolts seems to be a function of acculturation rather than harshness of the regime. Africans revolted, and Americans (for most slaves in the nineteenth century United States were second, third, and fourth generation Americans) did not.

The newness and sophistication of these arguments about the nature of slavery make all the more remarkable the arguments in a book which preceded by a century the recent musings on the comparative descriptions of and the impact of the slave trade on slavery in the Western Hemisphere. The book is *The Wrong of Slavery, [The Right of Emancipation], and the Future of the African Race in the United States* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1864). The author of the book was Robert Dale Owen, son of the famous British utopian reformer and former Democratic Congressman from Indiana.

The great British philanthropist's son had long ago compromised his utopian inheritance to the vanishing point, and he had never before been an enthusiast of the black man's cause. Richard William Leopold's *Robert Dale Owen: A Biography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940) is a portrait of a good Democrat who shared the party's typical enthusiasms for the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War, and its detestation of Negroes and abolitionists. When Indiana wrote a new state constitution in the winter of 1850-1851, Robert Dale Owen, delegate to the constitutional convention, reported the provision which forbade Negroes and mulattoes from settling in Indiana or buying real estate there. For those Negroes unfortunate enough to be left in the state after the constitutional provision passed (as it did), Owen urged a liberal appropriation of funds for "colonization," that is, voluntary exportation out of the state and to Africa.

During the Civil War, however, Owen began to run with a different crowd. As a loyal Democrat who supported the war and as a sixty-year-old man whose more partisan past seemed behind him, Owen gained an appointment on May 30, 1861 by Governor Oliver P. Morton as Indiana's purchasing agent for ordnance. This brought him into immediate contact with a governor who was a zealous supporter of the Republican cause, and it brought him into eventual contact with the War Department in Washington and its head, Edwin M. Stanton. Owen impressed Stanton enough that less than a year after his Indiana appointment—on March 13, 1862—Stanton appointed him and another War Democrat, Joseph Holt of Kentucky, as auditors of "all contracts, orders, and claims on the War Department, in respect to ordnance, arms, and ammunition."

By the autumn of 1862, Owen was badgering the administration with advice, particularly with the advice that, to avoid a military coup d'état, Lincoln should emancipate the slaves by virtue of his power as Commander-in-Chief. He also urged Congressional legislation to end slavery in the Border States by a policy of federally compensated emancipation. A year and three days after his first appointment by Stanton—on March 16, 1863—Owen had proved to be a sufficiently promising pupil of Republican reform ideas that Stanton appointed him, along with James McKaye and Samuel Gridley Howe, to the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission.

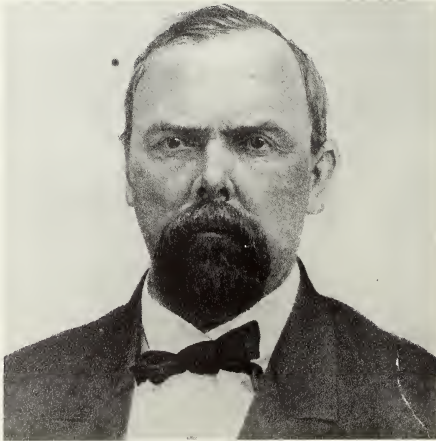
The American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, according to James M. McPherson's *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), was for the

most part the abolitionists' brain-child. For some time even before the Emancipation Proclamation they had advocated a federal bureau to formulate and administer a uniform national policy towards the freedmen. Philadelphia abolitionist J. Miller McKim was particularly insistent that a commission should be established to issue a report on the status of the freedmen. Thaddeus Stevens wanted a congressional commission, but Charles Sumner and Stanton thought an executive commission could be set up more quietly without debate in Congress. Stanton purposely avoided appointing an abolitionist of the Garrison school and made the moderate Democrat Owen the chairman of the commission.

Owen wrote the reports of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission. The final report was submitted in May of 1864, after months of travel, hearing testimony, and consultation with men who had been dealing with the problem to date. President Lincoln does not seem to have had a direct hand in the appointment of the commission, though of course he was aware of its work and aided it. On one particular occasion, Chaplain John Eaton, who had served with Grant in Mississippi and to whom Grant had disclosed his plan to colonize certain plantations with freedmen to "become a Negro paradise," called on President Lincoln in the summer of 1863. Eaton found Lincoln "keen in his investigation of the personal traits of certain Negroes, the circumstances of whose lives had brought them into prominence. He questioned me in regard to those who were coming into our lines. What was their object; how far did they understand the changes that were coming to them, and what were they able to do for themselves? At this time, it must be remembered, the Negro character was a subject about which, among Northerners, at least, the wildest conjectures were current." At the end of their second meeting the next day, Lincoln informed Eaton "that he desired me to report to a committee, composed of Dr. S.G. Howe of Boston, the well-known philanthropist, Colonel McKaye of New York, and Robert Dale Owen of Indiana, a former member of Congress. Mr. Lincoln had previously told me of this body, which, he said, had been appointed to consider the entire subject of our policy toward the Negro in the present emergency. The Commission—known officially as the American Freedmen Inquiry Commission—had recently been in conference in New York, and the President desired me to go there and meet them."

Owen's principal work for the commission was drafting its reports and doing considerable research into what today would be called black history. The final report, slightly clarified and modified, formed the substance of Owen's book, *The Wrong of Slavery*, and it was in part the embodiment of Owen's historical research.

Owen was diligent in his research. The book has footnotes in Spanish, French, and Latin. He borrowed the library of



From the Indiana Division, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis

FIGURE 2. Oliver P. Morton

Benjamin P. Hunt, a Philadelphian whose library was "rich in works on West Indian history and emancipation." The result was a remarkable section, comprising about half of the book, which explored the origins of slavery in the Western Hemisphere.

Owen attributed the origins of the institution largely to Spain and to the misguided philanthropy of Bartolomeo de las Casas, a Dominican monk who thought that the miseries of the enslaved Indians in Hispaniola could be alleviated by substituting "a hardier race," the Negroes from the Portuguese settlements on the African coast, as the slaves of the Spanish. Owen attributed slavery to the Spanish desire for gold and labor to mine it, but he stopped short of urging what some recent American historians have suggested: the seventeenth-century English colonists read Spanish books to know how to cope with the New World, therefore they expected to employ the Indians for labor, and they substituted blacks as early as 1619 when they found that the Indians were too recalcitrant.

On the origins of slavery in what would become the United States, Owen was vague. All he did was to repeat the charge that had become the standard salvo of the American conscience: that Great Britain had somehow forced slavery on the American colonies. This charge was lifted from George Bancroft's monumental *History of the United States* and allowed Owen to evade the issue by such indirect statements as this one: "The agency of the British Government in fastening slavery upon the Continental colonies is well known." Bancroft had seized upon late-eighteenth-century protests by colonial legislatures against the continuing importation of African slaves into the colonies. By that time, of course, fresh importations decreased the value of the slaves already held in the colonies; moreover, the tobacco industry suffered from chronic overproduction which vastly depressed the price. Bancroft managed to put a more humanitarian face on what was nakedly an argument from the elite's economic self-interest by saying that the "English Continental colonies [Owen quoted Bancroft's passage] were, in the aggregate, always opposed to the African slave-trade." Owen did not question Bancroft's "always," and, though born in Great Britain himself, he concluded that "In the entire history of Great Britain there is scarcely a more disgraceful page."

All of this was conventional, but Owen's research brought him to less conventional and to less convenient conclusions. Making rough computations of the volume of the slave trade from the available sources, Owen was left with this very tough fact to interpret: "THE HALF-MILLION SHIPPED FOR NORTH AMERICA HAD INCREASED NEARLY NINE-FOLD,—being represented in 1860 by a population exceeding four millions four hundred thousand; while THE FIFTEEN MILLIONS SENT TO THE WEST INDIAN COLONIES AND TO SOUTHERN [i.e., South] AMERICA HAD DIMINISHED, FROM AGE TO AGE, until they are represented now by LESS THAN HALF THEIR ORIGINAL NUMBER!" Although he arrived at the same basic insight that modern writers have reached, Owen considerably overestimated the number of slaves imported into the West Indies and Latin America; his estimate for that portion of the world alone is some five million higher than the most recent estimates of the total number of slave importations including the United States. These recent estimates, however, admit to the possibility of an error as great as 20 percent. If they erred low, then Owen was some 4.2 million off. Nevertheless, Owen showed an interest in the broad view of slavery as a more than national phenomenon. The disparity in numbers between the United States' experience and that of the other areas in the Western Hemisphere was so great that even a gross computational error like Owen's could not miss the basic point: a tiny island like Jamaica or Cuba imported more slaves than the whole of the United States! There was a fundamental difference in the nature of slave societies, and it was a difference which it was not convenient for Owen to take note of.

After all, Owen wrote in the midst of the Civil War at the behest and in the pay of an administration that was by that time committed by a fait accompli to the policy of emancipation and to a war against slavery. The second of the three sections of Owen's book was in fact a justification of administration emancipation policy from the standpoint of constitutional law, international law, and (at times) natural justice. It was not particularly helpful to find fairly compelling evidence that slavery as practiced in the United States was a good deal more benign than slavery as practiced anywhere else in the Western World.

Owen did in fact balk at the inevitable conclusion, but he did not blink it away. Chapter IX he entitled "Touching the Causes of Certain Marvellous Results," and there he grappled with his "results so extraordinary, at first sight so incredible,—and, in effect, even when thoroughly examined, so difficult of satisfactory explanation,—that I have devoted much time and labor to the critical revision of the materials whence my conclusions are drawn, before venturing to place them on record." The answer was not to be found "solely in the greater humanity with which the negroes of the United States have been treated, as compared with those of other slave countries." He attributed the poor rate of natural increase in other cultures to the disparity in sexes caused by relying heavily on the African slave trade. Such reliance brought greater numbers of males than females, but, Owen had to admit, female slaves were available and would have been supplied had the planters asked for them. At least the cruelty of maintaining a regime short of women had to be attributed to the other cultures, as did the cruelty which has so caught the attention of recent scholars.

The slave-trade had another, still more sinister, influence. It is beyond a doubt that wherever that trade prevailed it tended directly to aggravate the condition and to shorten the lives of the plantation slaves. This happened because it increased the temptation to cruelty and overwork.

The thorough Owen then quoted a passage from a book by two American visitors to Brazil which has found a prominent place in a recent prize-winning book on the subject (Carl Degler's *Neither Black Nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* [New York: Macmillan, 1971], page 74): "Until 1850, when the slave-trade was effectually put down, it was considered cheaper on the country plantations to use up a slave in five or seven years and purchase another, than to take care of him. This I had in the interior from native Brazilians, and my own observation has confirmed it."

Owen's heritage of benevolence prevented him from accepting completely the evil implications of the second factor:

As to the second influence, growing out of the temptation gradually to work to death laborers who can be replaced any day by fresh purchases, it is hard to believe that it should have exerted over human cupidity so terrible a sway as to cause the reduction to seven and a half millions of men of a population which, had they been treated and had they thriven but as well as the slaves of the United States, would have numbered to-day ninety-eight millions of souls.

Owen was aware that another factor, the "habitual absenteeism of many of the proprietors" of plantations in the West Indies, left the slaves "at the mercy of overseers, often uncultivated and mercenary, who had no interest in their preservation so long as those who died could be profitably replaced by what were called 'new negroes.'" Overseers were most often unmarried men who knew little about caring for pregnant females.

Almost in desperation, Owen suggested that climate might explain the differences in the experience of slave populations. He had to admit, however, that "there is no evidence to show that the climate of the West Indies and of Brazil is less suited, or more fatal, to the negro than that of our Slave States." The most recent writers on the subject, Fogel and Engerman in *Time on the Cross*, have been forced to practically the same speculations. "To Americans who have a penchant for finding the silver linings of clouds," say Fogel and Engerman, "it is tempting to cast the explanation in terms of the relative humanness of the treatment of slaves in the U.S. colonies." Fogel and Engerman, however, suggest the importance of the role of the "epidemiological environment" of the West Indies, where "Malaria, yellow fever, tetanus, dysentery, smallpox, and a score of other diseases were more widespread and more virulent" than in temperate climates. They also stress the disproportionately high male population in a culture that fed on the slave trade rather than on natural increase, but they do not delve as deeply as Owen on this point. That nineteenth-century stud of the slave trade quoted evidence from traders that female slaves were readily available, and he did not fail to identify the cruelty of a deliberate imbalance in sexual make-up of the population.

In the end, Owen simply threw up his hands in despair: "Upon the whole, however, it must be confessed that, while the general facts in this case are indisputable, the explanations we have so far suggested seem inadequate to account for the extraordinary results we have disclosed." Owen should

not be condemned for his indecisiveness on the meaning of his population estimates. Modern authorities still disagree. Carl Degler maintains that the figures show the peculiar benevolence of the United States's peculiar institution. Fogel and Engerman call Degler's reasoning an optimistic search for silver linings and then further confuse matters by arguing in the rest of their own book that many of the evils the abolitionists denounced—disruption of the family, slave breeding farms, inefficient labor—were exceptions to the statistical rule for American Negro slavery.

Moreover, Owen had an immediate political—almost military—reason not to find any silver linings in the cloud of American slavery. He grudgingly granted "success in this country, so far as the mere physical increase of the slave population can attest the fact," but "no further."

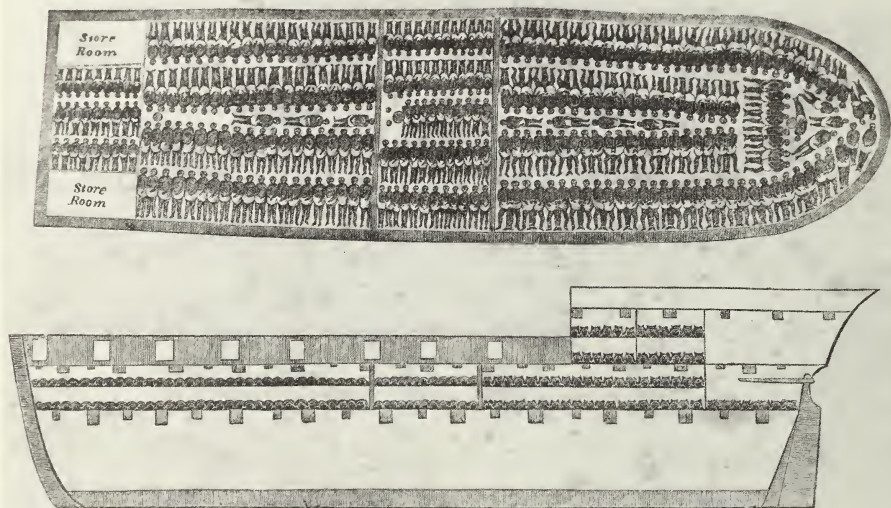
... population has increased in the world in spite of ceaseless wars, in spite of constant vice and misery. It increased in famine-stricken Ireland. It increased in England throughout the term of that feudal system which made of the island one great military camp. It increased in France throughout the centuries of that old régime of which the insufferable iniquities were at last requited by popular vengeance and culminated in the first Revolution.

Owen was an employee of the War Department. He had every reason, therefore, not to publish anything that could be construed as an apology for the Confederate cause. It is a credit

to the independence of his intellect that he did publish the results of his research into black history.

Owen's intellect has not been much celebrated to date. His biographer, Leopold, says that he did not have "a strikingly original mind." McPherson repeats the charge in his treatment of the reports of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission. He treats Owen's work as a mere distillation of "the results of thirty years of abolitionist research and reflection." John G. Sproat wrote a twenty page article on the report in the *Journal of Southern History* in 1957, but he, like Leopold and McPherson, ignored Owen's treatment of the slave trade and characterized the report as standard Radical Republican fare. George Fredrickson in *The Black Image in the White Mind* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971) also treats Owen's work as the distillation of a standard view of the black man in America.

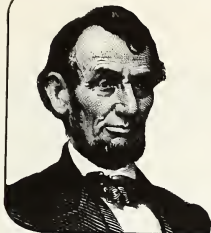
Whether historians have underestimated Owen's intellect or not, they have certainly underestimated the complexity of his view of *The Wrong of Slavery and the Right of Emancipation*. He stubbornly published what his diligent historical research revealed, even though the results of that research somewhat undermined his case for emancipation and war. Owen truly lived up to Abraham Lincoln's appraisal of him (in a letter to James W. Ripley on June 22, 1861) as "an intelligent [*sic*], disinterested, and patriotic gentleman."



DECKS OF A SLAVE SHIP

From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 3. This diagram of the lay-out of a slave ship was published in W.O. Blake's *History of Slavery and the Slave Trade, Ancient and Modern* (Columbus, Ohio: H. Miller, 1860). Quoting heavily from the "Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council, appointed for the consideration of . . . the present state of the trade to Africa," (1789), Owen recounted the horrors of the African slave trade. One slave captain, "seventeen years in the slave trade," said a fair average of the width allotted each slave on his decks was 14 2/3 inches. Other estimates ranged as high as 16 inches. Owen himself estimated one captain's allotment at just 12 1/2 inches.



Lincoln Lore

January, 1980

Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor.
Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the
Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1703

LINCOLN AND SLAVERY: AN OVERVIEW

Abraham Lincoln was a native of a slave state, Kentucky. In 1811 Hardin County, where Lincoln was born two years before, contained 1,007 slaves and 1,627 white males above the age of sixteen. His father's brother Mordecai owned a slave. His father's Uncle Isaac may have owned over forty slaves. The Richard Berry family, with whom Lincoln's mother Nancy Hanks lived before her marriage to Thomas Lincoln, owned slaves. Thomas and Nancy Lincoln, however, were members of a Baptist congregation which had separated from another church because of opposition to slavery. This helps explain Lincoln's statement in 1864 that he was "naturally anti-slavery" and could "not remember when I did not so think, and feel." In 1860 he claimed that his father left Kentucky for Indiana's free soil "partly on account of slavery."

Nothing in Lincoln's political career is inconsistent with his claim to have been "naturally anti-slavery." In 1836, when resolutions came before the Illinois House condemning abolitionism, declaring that the Constitution sanctified the right of property in slaves, and denying the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, Lincoln was one of six to vote against them (seventy-seven voted in favor). Near the end of the term, March 3, 1837, Lincoln and fellow Whig Dan Stone wrote a protest against the resolutions which stated that "the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy." It too denounced abolitionism as more likely to exacerbate than abate the evils of slavery and asserted the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia (though the right should not be exercised without the consent of the District's citizens). Congress, of course, had no right to interfere with slavery in the states. In 1860 Lincoln could honestly point to the consistency of his antislavery convictions over the last twenty-three years. That early protest "briefly defined his position on the slavery question; and so far as it goes, it was then the same that it is now."

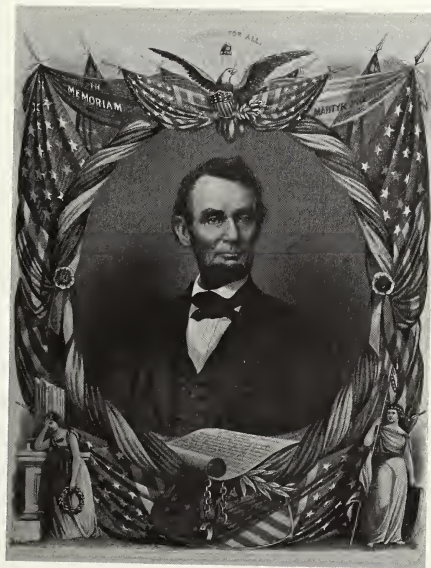
In his early political career in the 1830s and 1840s, Lincoln had faith in the benign operation of American political institutions. Though "opposed to slavery" throughout the period,

he "rested in the hope and belief that it was in course of ultimate extinction." For that reason, it was only "a minor question" to him. For the sake of keeping the nation together, Lincoln thought it "a paramount duty" to leave slavery in the states alone. He never spelled out the basis of his faith entirely, but he had confidence that the country was ever seeking to approximate the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. All men would be free when slavery, restricted to the areas where it already existed, exhausted the soil, became unprofitable, and was abolished by the slave-holding states themselves or perhaps by numerous individual emancipations. Reaching this goal, perhaps by the end of the century, required of dutiful politicians only "that we should never knowingly lend ourselves directly or indirectly, to prevent . . . slavery from dying a natural death — to find new places for it to live in, when it can no longer exist in the old." This statement, made in 1845, expressed Lincoln's lack of

concern over the annexation of Texas, where slavery already existed. As a Congressman during the Mexican War, Lincoln supported the Wilmot Proviso because it would prevent the growth of slavery in parts of the Mexican cession where the institution did not already exist. He still considered slavery a "distracting" question, one that might destroy America's experiment in popular government if politicians were to "enlarge and aggravate" it either by seeking to expand slavery or to attack it in the states.

Lincoln became increasingly worried around 1850 when he read John C. Calhoun's denunciations of the Declaration of Independence. When he read a similar denunciation by a Virginia clergyman, he grew more upset. Such things undermined his confidence because they showed that some Americans did not wish to approach the ideals of the Declaration of Independence; for some, they were no longer ideals at all. But these were the statements of a society directly interested in the preservation of the institution, and Lincoln did not become enough alarmed to aggravate the slave question. He began even to lose interest in politics.

The passage of Stephen A. Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Act



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. Like many other prints of Lincoln published soon after his death, this one celebrated the Emancipation Proclamation as his greatest act.

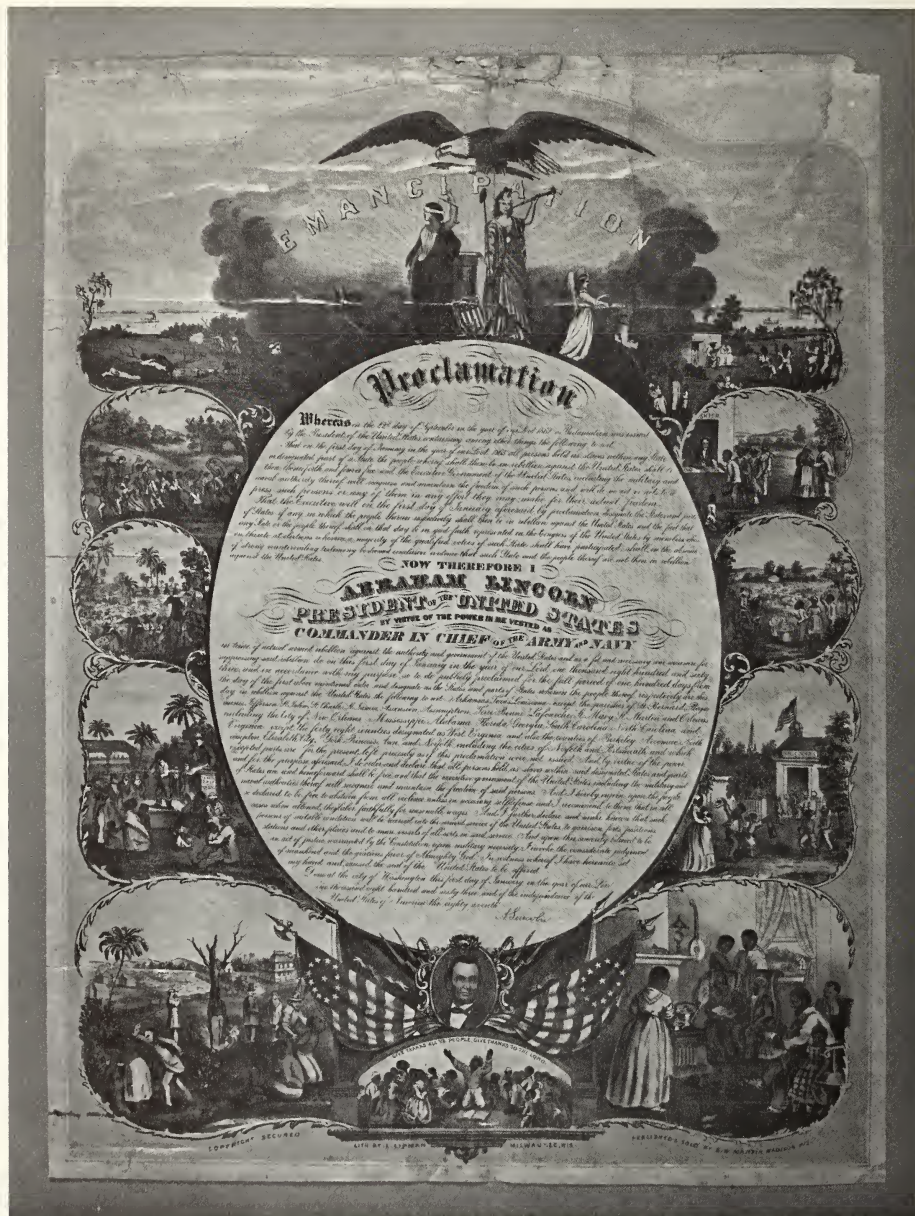


FIGURE 2. Charles Eberstadt noted fifty-two printed editions of the Emancipation Proclamation issued between 1862 and 1865. He called this one a “highly spirited Western edition embellished with four large slave scenes lithographed at the left and four freedom scenes at the right.”

in 1854 changed all this. Lincoln was startled when territory previously closed to slavery was opened to the possibility of its introduction by local vote. He was especially alarmed at the fact that this change was led by a Northerner with no direct interest in slavery to protect.

In 1841 Lincoln had seen a group of slaves on a steamboat being sold South from Kentucky to a harsher (so he assumed) slavery. Immediately after the trip, he noted the irony of their seeming contentment with their lot. They had appeared to be the happiest people on board. After the Kansas-Nebraska Act, he wrote about the same episode, still vivid to him, as "a continual torment to me." Slavery, he said, "has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable."

Lincoln repeatedly stated that slaveholders were no worse than Northerners would be in the same situation. Having inherited an undesirable but socially explosive political institution, Southerners made the best of a bad situation. Like all Americans before the Revolution, they had denounced Great Britain's forcing slavery on the colonies with the slave trade, and, even in the 1850s, they admitted the humanity of the Negro by despising those Southerners who dealt with the Negro as property, pure and simple — slave traders. But he feared that the ability of Northerners to see that slavery was morally wrong was in decline. This, almost as surely as disunion, could mean the end of the American experiment in freedom, for any argument for slavery which ignored the moral wrong of the institution could be used to enslave any man, white or black. If lighter men were to enslave darker men, then "you are to be slave to the first man you meet, with a fairer skin than your own." If superior intellect determined masters, then "you are to be slave to the first man you meet, with an intellect superior to your own." Once the moral distinction between slavery and freedom were forgotten, nothing could stop its spread. It was "founded in the selfishness of man's nature," and that selfishness could overcome any barriers of climate or geography.

By 1856 Lincoln was convinced that the "sentiment in favor of white slavery . . . prevailed in all the slave state papers, except those of Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri and Maryland." The people of the South had "an immediate palpable and immensely great pecuniary interest" in the question; "while, with the people of the North, it is merely an abstract question of moral right." Unfortunately, the latter formed a looser bond than economic self-interest in two billion dollars worth of slaves. And the Northern ability to resist was steadily undermined by the moral indifference to slavery epitomized by Douglas's willingness to see slavery voted up or down in the territories. The Dred Scott decision in 1857 convinced Lincoln that the Kansas-Nebraska Act had been the beginning of a conspiracy to make slavery perpetual, national, and universal. His House-Divided Speech of 1858 and his famous debates with Douglas stressed the specter of a conspiracy to nationalize slavery.

Lincoln's claims in behalf of the slaves were modest and did not make much of the Negro's abilities outside of slavery. The Negro "is not my equal . . . in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment," Lincoln said, but "in the right to put into his mouth the bread that his own hands have earned, he is the equal of every other man, white or black." Lincoln objected to slavery primarily because it violated the doctrine of the equality of all men announced in the Declaration of Independence. "As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master," Lincoln said. "This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy."

Lincoln had always worked on the assumption that the Union was more important than abolishing slavery. As long as the country was approaching the ideal of freedom for all men, even if it took a hundred years, it made no sense to destroy the freest country in the world. When it became apparent to Lincoln that the country might not be approaching that ideal, it somewhat confused his thinking. In 1854 he admitted that as "Much as I hate slavery, I would consent to the extension of it rather than see the Union dissolved, just as I would consent to any GREAT evil, to avoid a GREATER one." As his fears of a conspiracy to nationalize

slavery increased, he ceased to make such statements. In the secession crisis he edged closer toward making liberty more important than Union. In New York City on February 20, 1861, President-elect Lincoln said:

There is nothing that can ever bring me willingly to consent to the destruction of this Union, under which . . . the whole country has acquired its greatness, unless it were to be that thing for which the Union itself was made. I understand a ship to be made for the carrying and preservation of the cargo, and so long as the ship can be saved, with the cargo, it should never be abandoned. This Union should likewise never be abandoned unless it fails and the probability of its preservation shall cease to exist without throwing the passengers and cargo overboard. So long, then, as it is possible that the prosperity and the liberties of the people can be preserved in the Union, it shall be my purpose at all times to preserve it.

The Civil War saw Lincoln move quickly to save the Union by stretching and, occasionally, violating the Constitution. Since he had always said that constitutional scruple kept him from bothering slavery in the states, it is clear that early in the war he was willing to go much farther to save the Union than he was willing to go to abolish slavery. Yet he interpreted it as his constitutional duty to save the Union, even if to do so he had to violate some small part of that very Constitution. There certainly was no constitutional duty to do anything about slavery. For over a year, he did not.

On August 22, 1862, Lincoln responded to criticism from Horace Greeley by stating his slavery policy:

If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time *save* slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time *destroy* slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery, and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do *not* believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do *less* whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do *more* whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed *personal* wish that all men every where could be free.

The Emancipation Proclamation, announced just one month later, was avowedly a military act, and Lincoln boasted of his consistency almost two years later by saying, "I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery."

Nevertheless, he had changed his mind in some regards. Precisely one year before he issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln had criticized General John C. Frémont's emancipation proclamation for Missouri by saying that "as to . . . the liberation of slaves" it was "purely political, and not within the range of military law, or necessity."

If a commanding General finds a necessity to seize the farm of a private owner, for a pasture, an encampment, or a fortification, he has the right to do so, and to so hold it, as long as the necessity lasts; and this is within military law, because within military necessity. But to say the farm shall no longer belong to the owner, or his heirs forever; and this as well when the farm is not needed for military purposes as when it is, is purely political, without the savor of military law about it. And the same is true of slaves. If the General needs them, he can seize them, and use them; but when the need is past, it is not for him to fix their permanent future

condition. That must be settled according to laws made by law-makers, and not by military proclamations. The proclamation in the point in question, is simply "dictatorship." It assumes that the general may do *anything* he pleases—confiscate the lands and free the slaves of loyal people, as well as of disloyal ones. And going the whole figure I have no doubt would be more popular with some thoughtless people, than that which has been done! But I cannot assume this reckless position; nor allow others to assume it on my responsibility. You speak of it as being the only means of saving the government. On the contrary it is itself the surrender of the government. Can it be pretended that it is any longer the government of the U.S.—any government of Constitution and laws,—wherein a General, or a President, may make permanent rules of property by proclamation?

I do not say Congress might not with propriety pass a law, on the point, just such as General Fremont proclaimed. I do not say I might not, as a member of Congress, vote for it. What I object to, is, that I as President, shall expressly or impliedly seize and exercise the permanent legislative functions of the government.

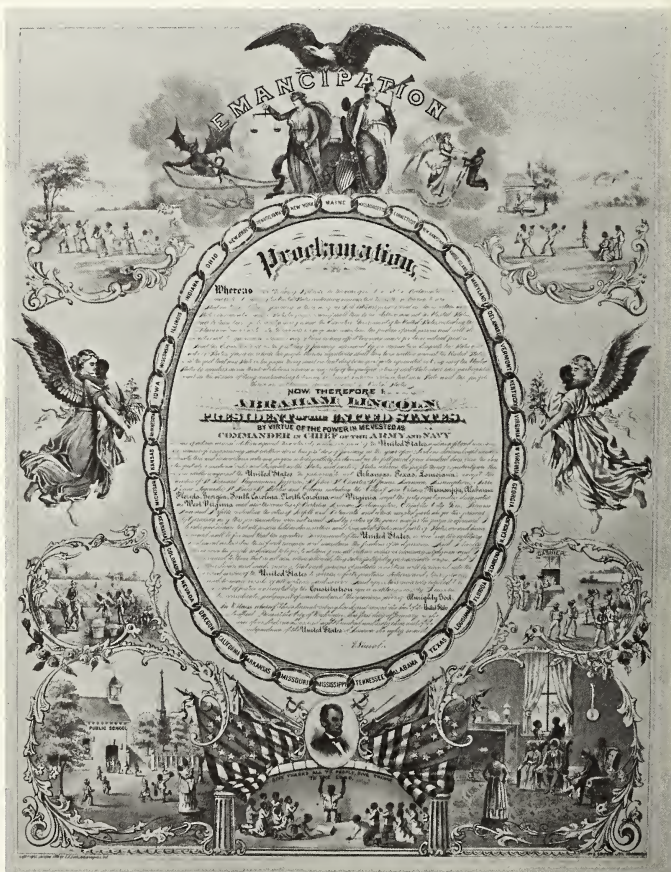
Critics called this inconsistency; Lincoln's admirers have called it "growth." Whatever the case, just as Lincoln's love of Union caused him to handle the Constitution somewhat roughly, so his hatred of slavery led him, more slowly, to treat the Constitution in a manner inconceivable to him in 1861. Emancipation, if somewhat more slowly, was allowed about the same degree of constitutional latitude the Union earned in Lincoln's policies.

The destruction of slavery never became the avowed object of the war, but by insisting on its importance, militarily, to saving the Union, Lincoln made it constitutionally beyond criticism and, in all that really mattered, an aim of the war. In all practical applications, it was a condition of peace—and was so announced in the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction of December 8, 1863, and repeatedly defended in administration statements thereafter. He reinforced this fusion of aims by insisting that the Confederacy was an attempt to establish "a new Nation, . . . with the primary, and fundamental object to maintain, enlarge, and perpetuate human slavery," thus making the enemy and slavery one and the same.

Only once did Lincoln apparently change his mind. In the desperately gloomy August of 1864, when defeat for the administration seemed certain, Lincoln bowed to pressure from Henry J. Raymond long enough to draft a letter empowering Raymond to propose peace with Jefferson Davis on the condition of reunion alone, all other questions (including slavery, of course) to be settled by a convention

afterwards. Lincoln never finished the letter, and the offer was never made. Moreover, as things looked in August, Lincoln was surrendering only what he could not keep anyway. He was so convinced that the Democratic platform would mean the loss of the Union, that he vowed in secret to work to save the Union before the next President came into office in March. He could hope for some cooperation from Democrats in this, as they professed to be as much in favor of Union as the Republicans. Without the Union, slavery could not be abolished anyhow, and the Democrats were committed to restoring slavery.

Lincoln had made abolition a party goal in 1864 by making support for the Thirteenth Amendment a part of the Republican platform. The work he performed for that measure after his election proved that his antislavery views had not abated. Near the end of his life, he repeated in a public speech one of his favorite arguments against slavery: "Whenever [I] hear any one, arguing for slavery I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally."



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 3. This Indianapolis edition of the Emancipation Proclamation, published in 1886, obviously copied the edition in Figure 2. Note, however, that the harsher scenes of slavery are removed—a sign of the post-Reconstruction political ethos.

COINS

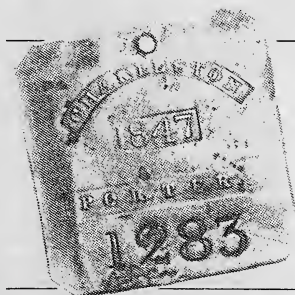
Jed Stevenson

Rare Slave Badges To Be Sold at Auction

COMING to auction on Sept. 9 is a collection of very rare slave-hiring badges from Charleston, S.C. Slave-hiring badges were issued to the owners of slaves who wished to rent them out for day work. In more rural places such an arrangement would have been a purely private affair, but in Charleston the practice became regulated in the early 18th century, and by 1751, hired-out slaves were required to wear badges.

Only 100 or so badges are now extant, and Stack's, which is handling the sale for the John J. Ford Jr. Collection, estimates that the 14 being offered will bring anywhere from \$200 to \$4,000. While thousands of badges are thought to have been issued by Mobile, Ala.; Savannah, Ga., and New Orleans, only badges from Charleston are known to exist. What happened to all the others is a mystery.

While the badges seem deeply repugnant today — similar badges were also issued for dogs — they are illustrative of the culture of slavery. Slaves hired for day work were paid less than whites, and because employers wanted to save money, whites were soon losing business. So Charleston instituted not only the badge system but also a quota system to protect white jobs: fewer badges were issued for occupations in which whites might lose jobs to slaves and more badges were issued for occupations in



Stack's

One of the 14 slave-hiring badges from Charleston that will be sold on Sept. 9. This one is from 1847, for a porter.

which nonwhites predominated.

By 1793 in Charleston, slaves who sold fish or vegetables at stands in the city were also required to wear badges. But eventually slave owners started to balk at the fees charged for the badges — \$2 to \$7 a year, depending on occupation — and lobbied to get the badge laws repealed in 1790.

After 10 years, Charleston reinstituted the badges at the insistence of white artisans. After the Civil War, badge laws were ignored and finally forgotten.

Each thin copper badge, an inch and a half square, showed the name of the city, the year of issue, a badge number and a trade. Those trades are indicative of the economy of time: about 60 percent of the badges that still remain are for house servants, while nearly 20 percent are for porters. The rarest occupations are those of mechanic, carpenter, fruitcrafter and fisherman.

It is impossible to tell exactly how widespread the badge system was in Charleston. In the 1840's, Charleston had about 15,000 slaves, and it's estimated that 12 percent to 30 percent were ever hired out. Some early Charleston badges are struck on the reverse with the name of the city marshal (also a silversmith) who was responsible for enforcing the badge laws and setting wage scales.

The 14 slave-hiring badges, along with a superb collection of United States and Colonial coins that will also be sold, can be viewed at Stack's, 123 West 57th Street, beginning Aug. 30, from 10:30 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. Monday through Friday. Stack's will be closed on Labor Day, Sept. 6. The sale is scheduled for Sept. 8 and 9 at the Park Central Hotel, Seventh Avenue at 56th Street. More information is available from Stack's at (212) 582-2580.

875-93 NYT



Sunken history

Henrietta Marie's grave a reminder of slave trade

By Paul Kvinta
SPECIAL TO THE TRIBUNE

As the 42-foot dive boat sputters to a stop on the shimmering, turquoise Gulf of Mexico, an uneasiness slowly spreads across Hank Jennings' face. A divers' paradise surrounds him. In fact, with no land in sight and the eternal buzz of Key West—34 miles due east—a distant memory, the wide-open sea looms seamless and inviting.

But Jennings just sits and wonders aloud about the pairs and pairs of tiny cast-iron leg shackles, designed specifically for small children.

"The day I saw those baby shackles it put a whole new twist on my perception of history," explains Jennings, an African-American computer specialist and avid diver from Hollywood, Fla.

The shackles had been salvaged from the Henrietta Marie, a 17th Century British slave ship lying in ruins on the gulf floor about 25 feet below where Jennings now stands. Just off to his left, an inflatable white buoy bobs gently in

the current, holding up a one-ton concrete and bronze monument in the water beneath it. Minutes from now, Jennings and seven other members of the National Association of Black Scuba Divers will lower the memorial amid the wreckage of the only sunken slave ship ever discovered in this hemisphere.

The divers strap on weight belts and adjust oxygen tanks as tranquility pervades the dive boat. Balancing the scenic splendor of the present with nightmares from the past has not proven easy. For the divers, this moment represents a long-awaited reckoning with the African-American version of Ellis Island.

For African-Americans in search of such a reckoning, an expedition to Key West can shape a historically rich, although possibly emotionally vexing journey. That such a notorious but crucial slice of history must be experienced through the storybook quaintness of Key West—the rich auburn sunsets, the gingerbread Victorian architecture, the ever-flowing margaritas—seems incongruous.

The irony does not escape Oswald Sykes, the Albany, N.Y., health care administrator who organized the Henrietta Marie dive. He and his wife Marion are lodging in the cozy Old Customs House Inn, an 1876 building that is now a bed and breakfast surrounded by the bustling oyster bars and art galleries of Key West's historic Duval Street. Yet just three blocks away on Greene Street, the Mel Fisher Maritime Heritage Society Museum chillingly reveals that accommodations for black travelers aboard the Henrietta Marie 300 years earlier were far less romantic. Exhibited artifacts from the slave ship include British trading beads, African ivory and, of course, the shackles.

According to Moore, the ship participated in the 17th and 18th Century Triangular Slave Trade, in which high seas merchants navigated the lucrative loop from Europe to West Africa to the New World and back again.

The Henrietta Marie set sail from London in September 1699, laden with the pewter ware, color-

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HENRIETTA MARIE

IN MEMORY AND
RECOGNITION OF THE COURAGE,
PAIN AND SUFFERING OF
ENSLAVED AFRICAN PEOPLE.

"SPEAK HER NAME AND GENTLY TOUCH
THE SOULS OF OUR ANCESTORS."

Dedicated November 15, 1992



Photo by D. Kibler, courtesy of Mel Fisher Maritime Heritage Society
A memorial plaque for those who died enslaved on ships was placed on the site of the slave ship, Henrietta Marie, off Florida.

ful glass beads and muskets coveted by African chieftains up and down the Guinea Coast. In return, the Africans traded elephant tusks, gold dust, and ultimately people, generally prisoners taken in battle. These coastal communities also desired the Europeans' flat-iron bars for tool-making, and savvy chieftains could fetch up to 13 bars for a male slave and 10 for a female.

With her human cargo wedged beneath the deck and manacled firmly in place, the Henrietta Marie embarked on a grueling, 3½ month voyage across the Atlantic. Moore cannot locate records indicating how many Africans made the final journey, but similar ships of the period carried up to 250 slaves, although disease stemming from filthy conditions often claimed 50 to 60 percent of those populations.

Moore says no Africans were likely on board when a hurricane later plunged the Henrietta Marie to a watery grave in the late summer of 1700. The ship had already unloaded its passengers in Kingston, Jamaica—the New World's commercial slave center—and was

heading back to England with a load of cotton, sugar and indigo.

Splintered into several pieces, the wreck remained unnoticed on the gulf floor until 1972, when treasure hunters searching for the Senora de Atocha, a gold-laden Spanish galleon, discovered large amounts of pewter ware, cannon and shackles on New Found Reef, not far from Key West. Archeologists later hauled up the ship's bronze bell, which contained the name "Henrietta Marie," and the year of its construction, 1699.

While many of the Henrietta Marie's artifacts appear on display year-round at the Maritime Heritage Museum, little of the actual ship remains at the wreck site other than the stern (or rear) and scattered timbers. Hurricanes and currents have likely spread fragments for miles, but Sykes says his group felt compelled to mark the wreck site as a grave of sorts for all Africans who died in the slave trade.

Divers swim out to the pyramidal monument suspended over the wreck and carefully deflate the surface buoy. While curious yel-

Diving into the site

The Mel Fisher Maritime Heritage Society Museum at 200 Greene St. charges a \$5 admission fee for adults and \$1.50 for children. Museum hours are 9:30 a.m.-5 p.m. Monday-Friday. Call 305-294-3633.

For scuba and snorkeling trips to the Henrietta Marie wreck site, contact Subtropics Dive Shop, 305-296-9914.

With two weeks advanced notice, the shop can arrange day-long, chartered scuba and snorkeling trips to the Henrietta Marie wreck site for around \$800. Call 305-296-9914. Subtropics charges \$35 per person for less specialized, two-site dives, and oxygen tanks rent for \$8; a \$25 fee for snorkelers includes mask, fins and snorkel.

For particularly magnificent coral diving, venture 90 miles northeast to Key Largo's John Pennekamp Coral Reef State Park. For scuba and snorkel The Trips, contact Tavernier Dive Center, also on Key Largo. For more information, call 305-852-4007.

Paul Kvinta

low-tailed snappers and queen angels look on, two of the divers wrap their arms around the 3-by-3 foot base of the concrete mass and descend, spinning like underwater ballerinas as they guide the piece safely to the floor.

The monument falls neatly between a tuft of green sea whips and a small stand of white tube sponges. And the bronze plaque purposefully faces east, in the direction of Africa, and the words say:

Henrietta Marie. In memory and recognition of the courage, pain and suffering of enslaved African people. Speak her name and gently touch the souls of our ancestors.

FROM AN OLD SCRAPBOOK.

A Frenchman description of Abraham Lincoln
as he witnessed a slave sale on the levee at
New Orleans.

By
Clarence C. Johnson

Today Abraham Lincoln's name and fame are the precious legacy of mankind wherever flares freedom's torch, and so looking over our old scrap books to see if we can find anything about the most blessed heritage of all mankind we find a description of Abraham Lincoln looking on at a slave sale when he was down at New Orleans on his flat boat trip.

And so follows the most touching ~~description~~ pictures ever seen by mortal eyes since the ~~three crosses~~ stood out against the darkening sky.

~~-----~~
An old weakened Frenchman with a scornful turn of his aristocratic old profile told the following story :
"Why, yes, remember the fellow well", said the old Frenchman in answer to an inquiry. "yes in those days I always lik' to go down to ze levee", he said in broken French with a delicious accent. "I meet such strange people down there. In my father's house all say one thing--nothing new at all. An', as I say, when I went to the slave auction that day, jus' lik' always come here Madri Gras time, who should I see standing there but that tall, how you call him? lanky flatboatman I knew down on ze levee. My li'le heart jump, I so glad to see him, but he look sad, verro sad as he smile at me an' he reach' down an' took my li'le han' in his, oh; so verro gard one, an' he hol' her so tight I feel frightened. I know not why he look so sad. On what they call 'ze block' was a fine figure of a girl; I remember that yet", was only a yellow gal--Mme.-----'s Suzanne, an' they were selling her. I remember right well she was a fine figure of a girl. I remember that yet. The old Frenchman laughed softly under the weight of his ninety summers.

"Yes, I remember zat yet", he chuckled; "it's ze climate of zis, N' Orleans, I tink. But I go on and tell you about ze man. But, no, there not any'ing to tell, but he ~~look~~ look verro sad. An' he hol' my li'le han' su verro tight, lik' I tol' you, an' I feel frightened i'lle while, zen I laf' an' I say, "She only nigger gal," an he hol' my han' too hard zen, an' he say sof' lik' to hisself: "She's a woman, my God". An' I laf' again, li'le fellow lik me, an' I say: "I know zat," but he did not laf' an he turn an walk away lik' he thinkin' to hisself. "After ~~that~~ zat day I never see him on ze levee nor at all; an' I cannot believe anthing lik' zat mak' me sad an' Madri Gras time comin', too, but I did feel sad li'le bit, because I love to fin' him on ze levee, an' I never forget zat name. The next time I heard it--well--we will not

now speak of zat time. There was something strange 'bout
him, an'-----"

The feeble voice of the old Frenchman slightly trembled.
"An' somehow I never could forget ze ~~best~~ feller, Aberaham
Lincoln".

The old man looked very grave as he sat there in the balmy
sunshine of his wide gallery, thinking perhaps, perhaps, of how
absurdly serious "ze people" could allow themselves to
become about a mere trifle".

OLD SLAVE MARKET, BUILT 1758, LOUISVILLE, GA.



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